Melikşah Demir *Editor*

Friendship and Happiness

Across the Life-Span and Cultures

Springer

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Melikşah Demir
Department of Psychology
Northern Arizona University
Flagstaff
Arizona
USA

Preface

This book is about the relationship between friendship and happiness across the lifespan and in different cultures. Experts and leaders in the field have contributed to this volume. Specifically, scholars from sixteen countries have not only provided unique perspectives on the topic and reviewed the extensive literature but also presented data addressing the relationship between friendship and happiness in different age groups across cultures. Why would anyone undertake such a project when the robust association of friendship with happiness is well accepted by laypeople and scholars? There are personal and empirical reasons.

Why do social scientists conduct studies on the topics they investigate? Although there might be practical reasons behind their choice of research, I believe that most scholars, if not all, have a cherished personal story behind their lines of research. I have been studying the relationship between friendship and happiness since 2002 because I was curious to learn why my friendships make me happy. I remember experiencing endless laughter, joy, and happiness when playing with my friends as a kid, spending time with them and engaging in a variety of different activities together while experiencing various levels of support, intimacy, loyalty, and validation as an adolescent, emerging, and young adult. Although we had disagreements and quarrels that are typical of a friendship, we were able to overcome these challenges. I loved my friends and was a happy person, I believe, because of them. Soon after taking my first course on psychology and learning about research methods, I decided to become a researcher to understand how and why friendships are related to happiness. I wanted to learn why my friends contribute to my happiness. This is the personal story behind my research and this book.

I was as happy as a clam when I started my research on the topic more than a decade ago. One of the well-accepted findings in the scientific literature on happiness that is not disputed pertains to the robust association between friendship and happiness. This is acknowledged by theorists, and has been highlighted in major reviews of the literature and books in the field of Positive Psychology. Yet, my excitement faced some serious challenges. With a few notable exceptions, the reviews and books either clumped friendship with other interpersonal relationships when discussing the friendship-happiness association or did not include empirical studies in their reviews that specifically supported the association between friendship and

happiness. Those overcoming these issues did not focus on age or cultural differences and whether indices and types of friendships mattered when understanding the relationship between friendship experiences and happiness. Also, a burgeoning body of research has expanded the literature to all walks of life in the past decade. During this time, the investigation of the friendship-happiness association has also been observed in different cultures. Finally, although friendship and happiness as separate topics have been eloquently studied in a variety of disciplines resulting in numerous books, volumes, and handbooks, there was not a book dedicated only to the relationship between friendship and happiness that could advance future research on the topic. These were the empirical reasons why I undertook this project.

I would like to express my sincere appreciation to Esther Otten at Springer who has made this project possible. Her enthusiasm and support are very much appreciated. I also would like to thank Hendrikje Tuerlings for her great help in making this book possible. I must acknowledge the support and humor of my friends throughout the project, especially Sumner Sydeman, as I have missed many opportunities to hike and hang out with him while working on this book on friendship and happiness. Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Sahar Razavi, for her never-ending support, great stuffed pasta, and patience as I have worked on this project.

I would also like to thank to all of the contributors. I was a lucky and happy editor because of the professionalism displayed by the contributing authors. They were not only enthusiastic about their chapters but also welcomed my comments and suggestions as they finalized their chapters. I strongly believe that the chapters in this volume will be a valuable source for friendship researchers in various disciplines.

I am proud of the chapters in this book not only because they represent top-notch reviews of the literature but also present findings from various cultures.

This book is divided into three major parts. Part 1, "Perspectives on Friendship and Happiness" focuses on the association of friendship with happiness from different perspectives. Chapters in this part of the book not only focus on the meaning of friendship and happiness but also emphasize why friends and friendship experiences are related to happiness in the respective fields. In Chap. 1, Lynch explores the topic from a philosophical perspective, highlights how philosophical concepts have influenced the topics studied in the psychological literature, and suggests that friendship and happiness share similar features. In Chap. 2, Greco, Holmes and McKenzie provide a sociological approach to the topic and argue that the relationship between friendship and happiness depends on the social conditions in which friendship is experienced. Greco and her colleagues also underscore how a sociological perspective could enhance our understanding of the topic. Next, Lewis, Al-Shawaf, Russell and Buss (Chap. 3) present an evolutionary account on the topic by focusing on the functions of friendships. Lewis and his colleagues differentiate same- and cross-sex friendships, highlight the costs and benefits specific to each type of friendship, and propose evolutionarily inspired strategies to maximize the emotional benefits one might accrue from these friendships. In Chap. 4, Saldarriaga, Bukowski, and Greco offer a psychological perspective on the topic and argue that the friendship-happiness association represents a bidirectional dynamic process. The authors also

provide directions for future research and emphasize the importance of interventions that could be developed to enhance the well-being of individuals.

Part 2, "Friendship and Happiness Across the Lifespan" provides state-of-the-art reviews of the literature across all walks of life and on relatively new lines of research such as social media. Chapters providing a review of the literature in different age groups offer a brief historical context, theoretical bases, measures commonly used to assess the constructs, and a review of the existing literature, as well as highlight the current limitations of the literature and suggest directions for future research. In Chap. 5, Holder and Coleman review the literature on children and emphasize recent advances in the measurement of children's well-being. The authors also call for research on the relationship between imaginary friendships and happiness among children. Next, Bagwell, Kochel, and Schmidt (Chap. 6) provide an eloquent review on the topic in adolescence. Bagwell and her colleagues note the limited empirical attention given to the friendship-happiness association in this age group and provide specific directions for future research. In Chap. 7, Demir, Orthel, Özdemir, and Özdemir review the topic, focusing on young adults, and show that the associations of friendship quality and satisfaction with happiness were stronger than that of friendship quantity, but the importance of friendship in this age group is dependent on one's relationship status. The next chapter (Chap. 8) by Fiori and Denkla focuses on the topic among middle-aged adults and shows that friendship is a robust correlate of happiness in this age group. However, Fiori and Denkla show that this association might change depending on context and gender, and emphasize the need to compare midlife adults of different ages as a potential moderator. In Chap. 9, Adams and Taylor show that friendship experiences are positively associated with happiness in old age and argue that interventions focusing on ways to continue or increase friendship in this age group could promote successful aging.

The reviews of the literature across the lifespan collectively support the idea that friendship is related to happiness regardless of the ways the constructs were assessed. However, these reviews did not focus on cross-sex friendship and friendship in the social media as they relate to happiness. I decided to include the next two chapters in this part of the book because they address these issues among adolescents, emerging and young adults. In Chap. 10, Procsal, Demir, Doğan, Özen, and Sümer review the literature on cross-sex friendship by highlighting its similarities and differences from same-sex friendship and argue that cross-sex friendship is related to happiness in light of past theoretical work. Across three studies, they conclude that cross-sex friendship quality is a robust correlate of happiness regardless of the way happiness is assessed and the association is similar for men and women in two different cultures.

In Chap. 11, Manago and Vaughn argue that social media produce what they call a customized sociality that provides more control in one's interactions favoring one's personal needs and preferences. Although the authors review studies showing that social media use is related to happiness, the association is a complex one that depends on the characteristics of the consumers and their reasons for using social media.

Part 3, " Friendship and Happiness Across Cultures" provides reviews and empirical studies addressing the relationship between friendship and happiness in different cultures.

In Chap. 12, Willeto provides the first review in the literature on the topic among Navajos by relying on biographies and available empirical studies. Willeto emphasizes the need for research that directly focuses on the roles of friendship experiences in the happiness of Navajos. Next, Garcia, Pereira, and de Macedo (Chap. 13) provide a review of the literature in Latin America. Garcia and his colleagues show that friends and friendship experiences are considered as sources of happiness and emphasize that research on the topic in this continent is in its infancy. The authors also call for collaborations to enhance systematic research on the topic and highlight the steps taken to achieve this goal in Latin America. In Chap. 14, Li and Cheng review the associations of family relationships and friendships with happiness in Western cultures and the Asian context. Although friendship is related to happiness among Asians, Li and Cheng found that its impact is less salient, especially when family relationships are taken into account, when compared to findings obtained in Western cultures. The authors argue that this trend might change in the following years due to changes in the family system in Asian societies. The rest of the chapters in this section present recent empirical data on the topic in different age groups across various cultures. In Chap. 15, Sümer investigates the roles of attachment to mother and friendship in the life satisfaction of Turkish children. Sümer reports that friendship quality, not conflict, explains additional variance in life satisfaction above and beyond the influence of attachment to mother; friendship quality among girls is related to higher levels of life satisfaction only at low levels of attachment avoidance. In Chap. 16, Jose investigates the peer relations and happiness association in a longitudinal study among New Zealand adolescents. Jose reports that positive peer relations predicted an increase in happiness one year later whereas initial positive affect did not result in better peer relationships. In Chap. 17, Demir, Cuisiner, and Khoury show that satisfaction of basic psychological needs in a same-sex best friendship explain why friendship quality is related to happiness among college students in France and Lebanon. In the last chapter of this book, Demir, Achoui, and Simonek (Chap. 18) report that same-sex best friendship quality mediates the relationship between perceived responses to capitalization attempts and happiness among emerging adults in Algeria and Slovakia.

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Contents

Contributors

Mustapha Achoui Arab Open University, Kuwait

Rebecca G. Adams University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Greensboro, USA

Laith Al-Shawaf The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, USA

Catherine L. Bagwell Colgate University, Hamilton, NY, USA

William M. Bukowski Concordia University, Montréal, Québec, Canada

David M. Buss The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, USA

Sheung-Tak Cheng Hong Kong Institute of Education, New Territories, Hong Kong

Norwich Medical School, University of East Anglia, Norwich, United Kingdom

Ben Coleman Okanagan College, Vernon, BC, Canada

Maria Daniela Corrêa de Macedo Federal University of Espírito Santo, Vitória, ES, Brazil

Frédérique Cuisinier Paris West University, France, France

Melikşah Demir Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, USA

Christy A. Denckla Adelphi University, Garden city, NY, USA

Aysun Doğan Ege Univerisity, İzmir, Turkey

Katherine L. Fiori Adelphi University, Garden city, NY, USA

Agnaldo Garcia Federal University of Espírito Santo, Vitória, ES, Brazil

Carolina Greco Instituto de Ciencias Humanas, Sociales y Ambientales, Conicet, Mendoza, Argentina

Silvana Greco Institut für Judaistik, Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin, Germany

Mark D. Holder University of British Columbia, Kelowna, Canada

Mary Holmes School of Social and Political Science, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, UK

Paul E. Jose Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand

Brigitte Khoury American University of Beirut Medical Center, Beirut, Lebanon

Karen P. Kochel University of Richmond, Richmond, VA, USA

David M.G. Lewis Bilkent University, Ankara, Turkey

The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, USA

Tianyuan Li Hong Kong Institute of Education, New Territories, Hong Kong

Sandra Lynch University of Notre Dame, Australia, Broadway, NSW 2007 Australia

Adriana M. Manago Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA, USA

Jordan McKenzie University of New England, Armidale, NSW, Australia

Haley Orthel-Clark Truckee Meadows Community College, Reno, NV, USA

Metin Özdemir Center for Developmental Research, School of Law, Psychology and Social Work, Örebro University, Örebro, Sweden

Sevgi Bayram Özdemir Center for Developmental Research, School of Law, Psychology and Social Work, Örebro University, Örebro, Sweden

Ayça Özen TOBB University of Economics and Technology, Ankara, Turkey

Fábio Nogueira Pereira Federal University of Espírito Santo, Vitória, ES, Brazil

Amanda D. Procsal Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, USA

Eric M. Russell The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, USA

Lina María Saldarriaga Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia

Michelle E. Schmidt Moravian College, Bethlehem, PA, USA

Jaromir Šimonek Constantine The Philosopher University in Nitra, Nitra, Slovakia

Nebi Sümer Middles East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

Emily M. Taylor University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Greensboro, USA

Lanen Vaughn Western Washington University, Bellingham, WA, USA

Angela A. A. Willeto Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, USA

Part I
Perspectives on Friendship and Happiness

Friendship and Happiness From a Philosophical Perspective

Sandra Lynch

Few, if any, of us would be surprised by the claim that all human beings want to be happy or even by the claim that being happy is the most important thing in life. Both claims are commonplaces of everyday conversation. Equally friends and friendship are generally regarded as important and worthwhile in the sense that we care about them and part of their value is assumed to be their contribution to happiness. The psychological literature also affirms that friendship is a reliable correlate of happiness across the life span (Demir et al. 2013). Mark Vernon (2005) notes in *The Philosophy of Friendship,* that friendship "is frequently heralded as the defining relationship of our age". He recognises its connection to happiness when he argues that "the best kinds of friendship (however that is judged) are essential for a happy life"; and that "love and friendship both call us into and become constitutive of our happiness" (Vernon 2005, p. 1, 6, 33). However, the relationship between friendship and happiness is surely dependent on how we understand both happiness and friendship. Within the philosophical literature, treatments of friendship and its contribution to happiness vary according to the interest particular philosophers of friendship invest in the concept of happiness; and according to the relationship they take happiness to have with pleasure, satisfaction and an absence of any negative emotion.

This paper firstly canvasses conceptions of happiness in the philosophical literature and more broadly, to explore competing views about happiness in a way that will be relevant to the later discussion of friendship. The second section will consider: how different conceptions of friendship relate to the conceptions of happiness identified; and the extent to which differing conceptions of friendship challenge or reinforce our understandings of happiness. While some philosophers draw explicit connections between friendship and happiness, these connections are only implicit in the work of others. The third section will argue for a view of both friendship and happiness that notes similarities, which in turn can explain something about

S. Lynch (✉)
Centre for Faith, Ethics and Society, University of Notre Dame, Australia,
104 Broadway (PO Box 944), Broadway, NSW 2007 Australia
e-mail: Sandra.lynch@nd.edu.au

an uncertain mix of desire and expectation on the one hand and the possibilities of satisfaction on the other, both within friendship and in relation to happiness.

Conceptions of Happiness as Subjective Well Being, Life Satisfaction and Pleasure

Articulating a definition of happiness is challenging and as Martin Seligman notes, this is not least because the word is over-used to the point of becoming almost meaningless (Seligman 2011, p. 9). Thus part of the challenge of approaching this topic is to try to clarify what we can take happiness to mean in the context of a discussion of friendship.

Columbia University's *World Happiness Report,* launched at the United Nations in April, 2012, associates happiness with life satisfaction and subjective well-being. Its findings address the connection between prosperity (both economic and social) and happiness, recognising that adequate food, remunerative jobs, safe shelter, safe water and sanitation, access to health care and educational opportunities are aspects of life satisfaction. At the same time, the authors note that while basic deprivations have generally been overcome in the high-income world, higher average incomes do not necessarily improve average well-being. For example, in the U.S. GNP per capita has risen by a factor of three since 1960, while measures of average happiness have remained essentially unchanged over the half-century (Sachs 2012, pp. 3–4). What is of interest is the claim in Sachs' report that while achieving happiness is undermined by poverty and material deprivation, for those in higher income brackets there is no necessary positive correlation between increasing income and happiness. In contrast, other theorists argue that wealthy people are happier than the poor and even than those on average incomes (Lucas et al. 2008). Maio et al. (2013) refer to research which has found positive correlations between material wealth and subjective well-being in some nations (e.g. Portugal and Italy) and negative correlations in other nations (e.g. Belgium and the U.K.). The research of Diener and Oishi (2000), like that of Sachs, indicates that an increase in income will not inevitably lead to greater subjective well-being. Kahneman et al. (2006) suggest an explanation for this lack of inevitably positive correlation between increasing income and happiness. Their data indicates that as people's incomes rise they spend more time in activity associated with higher tension and stress (e.g. in working longer hours), than in activity associated with greater happiness. Diener and Oishi also note that culture and expectations can influence subjective well-being (2000). Similarly, Pavot and Diener (2013) draw attention to the intricate relationship between subjective well-being and income, as well as to the substantial differences across cultures in the correlates of subjective well-being. In explaining the construct of subjective well-being, Pavot and Diener (2013) claim that it consists of affective and cognitive processes, as well as an individual's perceptual interpretation of ongoing events and experiences; but they also argue that levels of subjective well-being tend to be relatively stable over time and that this appears to be related to personality or chronic

cognitive processes (Pavot and Diener 2013). Recent research which controls for health and socioeconomic status further complicates the relationship between what we might think of as good fortune and happiness as subjective well-being, since it indicates that positive affect (as long as it is not intensely aroused or manic) predicts health and longevity (Diener and Chan 2011); positive affect may in fact help to realise some of the goods of life (at least in the case of health and prosperity) and hence may prove to be in a complicated relationship with those goods, rather than being dependent upon them. Hence while we take for granted that it is natural to seek happiness and that a life beset by negative states such as anxiety, envy, anger, depression or grief will not make us happy, we also recognise that good fortune does not guarantee happiness in the sense of subjective well-being and that positive affect contributes to subjective well-being (Pavot and Diener 2013).

It clear that psychological research into happiness generally focuses on perceptions of happiness in terms of subjective well-being, although as the literature referred to above indicates, there is disagreement as to the contribution which different factors play in the construction of subjective well-being. Philosophers generally place less emphasis on the correlates of subjective well-being and more emphasis on the relationship between conceptions of happiness as subjective well-being—which they refer to as mental state of experience theories of happiness (Parfit 1984; Silverstein 2000)—and competing conceptions of happiness. However, philosophical concepts do inform the psychological literature; for example, Demir and Özdemir (2010), discussing friendship, need satisfaction and happiness, distinguish between the tradition of hedonic well-being and the tradition of eudaimonic well-being. They associate the hedonic tradition with subjective well-being, cognitive and affective evaluations of an individual's own life, global life satisfaction, the presence of positive affect and the absence of negative affect; and they define happiness as "the predominance of positive affect over negative affect" (2010, p. 244).

Similarly, Mesquita and Markus (2004) refer to happiness as a "desirable emotion", although one that they argue is differentially promoted in America by comparison with the Netherlands. However, this claim is not easy to legitimate, since one might interpret the data to which these authors refer as evidence of the existence of competing notions of happiness. For the Dutch, the data associates happiness with the public and authentic expression of self—which may involve some negative expression of emotion; while for the Americans it associates happiness with high levels of self-esteem and the expression of positive emotion. Maio et al. (2013) also recognise the association of self-esteem with subjective well-being.

Philosophical references to happiness also identify happiness with pleasure and positive feeling, as well as—ambiguously—with the possibility of negative affect. For example, Arthur Schopenhauer clearly associates happiness with pleasure, although he does so in the context of recognising that our pleasures are doomed to be fleeting and our happiness frustrated. He argues that "[e]verything in life proclaims that earthly happiness is destined to be frustrated, or recognized as an illusion" (Schopenhauer 1958, p. 573). For Schopenhauer, human beings are by nature determined to be embodiments of will; our intellects are governed by this will, although we are often not consciously aware of this. Thus the purposes of the will are

unconsciously being carried out by those of us involved in romantic relationships since in reality we are motivated by the will-to-life, the will to procreate, rather than any consciously formulated (and perhaps more personally or socially acceptable) conception of what we have chosen or what we desire. The lover as friend would be a questionable notion from this perspective. Schopenhauer's metaphysical commitment to a particular view of human nature both undermines a central feature of relations between friends—that of the free choice of engagement—and also determines that any happiness the satisfaction of desire might bring will inevitably be a fleeting experience.

In a similar vein, the Stoic, Epictetus, warns that "[i]t is impossible that happiness, and yearning for what is not present, should ever be united" (Irvine 2009, p. 85). On this view, it is yearning which disturbs happiness, not least because we face the dangers of hedonic adaptation (Irvine 2009), so that our pleasure at the satisfaction of a desire is often only short-lived. These warnings have something in common with Schopenhauer's position since both imply that dissatisfaction and hence unhappiness are part of the normal human condition. According to Epictetus and the Stoics generally, the only wise objective for those seeking happiness is to control desire, to want only those things that are easy to obtain (Irvine 2009), since desire and happiness are antithetical. As we shall see later, these philosophical perspectives suggest a similarity between happiness and friendship which is related to the role of intentionality in each phenomenon.

Philosophical Challenges to Happiness as Pleasure

As we have seen, popular wisdom as well as some of the psychological and philosophical literature associate happiness with (temporary) pleasure at the satisfaction of desire and with positive or desirable emotion. The question remains as to whether these elements are sufficient for a definition of happiness. In the paper referred to above, Demir and Özdemir (2010) address this question by distinguishing between the tradition of hedonic well-being, which is the focus of their study, and that of eudaimonic well-being. *Eudaimonia* is the Ancient Greek word which is often translated into English as happiness, but as we shall see below, reference to *eudaimonia* implies a challenge to theories of happiness which privilege pleasure and affect.

John Stuart Mill's work has been interpreted as attempting to philosophically straddle the hedonic and eudaimonic approaches to explaining happiness. Mill argued that human beings naturally desire happiness; "there is in reality nothing desired except happiness" (Mill 1991, p. 172). He also maintained that "to desire anything, except in proportion as the idea of it is pleasure, is a physical and metaphysical impossibility" (p. 173). This might appear to place Mill squarely on the side of those who associate happiness with hedonic pleasure, but in fact for Mill, "[i]t is quite compatible with the principle of utility to recognise the fact that some *kinds* of pleasure are more desirable and valuable than others" (p. 138). Mill has in mind those pleasures associated with deliberation and the cultivation of the mind

and which determine that happiness is in fact not inconsistent with some some difficulty or discontent. Brink (2008) argues that Mill's conception of happiness is in fact anti-hedonic, and only appears hedonic; and Mill's stipulation that "a beast's pleasures do not satisfy a human being's conception of happiness" reinforces this claim (Mill, p. 138). Mill's association of the principle of utility with objective pleasure, human well-being and complex, heterogeneous states of consciousness, rather than with individual, subjective pleasure or simple mental states (Fumerton and Donner 2009) does implies an affinity with eudaimonic rather than hedonic conceptions of happiness.

Peter Railton's (1993) approach to hedonism within a utilitarian context takes a similar approach by thwarting attempts to separate hedonism from more impersonal notions of happiness, such as eudaimonic notions. On Railton's view a sophisticated hedonist will apply the (rational, prudential or moral) criterion that his acts should meet if they are in fact (from an objective, rather than a subjective, viewpoint) to most contribute to his happiness. For Railton sophisticated hedonists need not always act for the sake of happiness in the sense that they need not always try to maximise their own happiness in action whenever possible. They may act for the sake of others or do various things for their own sake, but they would not act in this way, if doing so was incompatible with leading an objectively hedonistic life—in the long run. Epicurus, agrees that "although every pleasure on account of its natural affinity to us is good, not every pleasure is to be chosen…It is proper to evaluate these things by calculation and consideration of the advantages and disadvantages." (Long 1986, p. 63). A form of enlightened hedonism appears to be suggested here.

Kant also recognises our focus on happiness, arguing that "men have one end by natural necessity and that is happiness" (Kant 1991, 42, p. 79), but he also acknowledges that "the concept of happiness is so indeterminate a concept that although every man wants to attain happiness, he can never say definitely and in unison with himself what it really is that he wants and wills" (1991, 46, p. 81). Kant is recognising that we commonly use the word *happiness* to apply to the total satisfaction of our needs and inclinations, but that this may well refer to states which are temporary (1991). Consequently, Kant rejects a conception of happiness as need satisfaction to suggest that as rational beings, our focus ought to be on living according to the dictates of reason. Happiness is compared unfavourably with contentment achieved as a consequence of living according to the moral law, which Kant argues reason can establish.

Aristotle and Eudaimonia

The connection between happiness (what Aristotle (1985) generally refers to as *eudaimonia*) and reason is also apparent in the work of Aristotle who begins his *Nicomachean Ethics* with a focus on what he takes to be the final goal or end for human beings. As we shall see, it is an end which is determined by Aristotle's understanding of our natures as rational and social beings and one to which friendship makes a significant contribution.

> Verbally there is very general agreement [about our final end]; for both the general run of men and people of superior refinement say that it is happiness, and identify living well and faring well with being happy; but with regard to what happiness is they differ, and the many do not give the same account as the wise. For the former think it is some plain and obvious thing, like pleasure, wealth, or honour; they differ, however, from one another—and often even the same man identifies it with different things, with health when he is ill, with wealth when he is poor; but, conscious of their ignorance, they admire those who proclaim some great ideal that is above their comprehension. (*NE* 1095a16-26)

The proof that happiness is our final end is that we choose it for its own sake and not for any other reason (*NE* 1096 b2). Aristotle says that it would seem a platitude to say that happiness is the final end we all seek (*NE* 1097b22—1098a8) since we all agree that we want to be happy. But Aristotle undercuts the argument as to what happiness actually consists in by arguing that our happiness is associated with our function as human beings and is viewed over a lifetime.

> [T]he function of man is an activity of the soul in accordance with, or not without, a rational principle, and….the function of a good man [is]…the good and noble performance of these,… [H]uman good turns out to be activity of soul in conformity with excellence, and if there are more than one excellence, in conformity with the best and most complete.
> But we must add 'in a complete life.' (*NE* 1098a8-19)

So for Aristotle human happiness (*eudaimonia)* is fundamentally associated with rational and morally excellent (virtuous) activity. He recognises that no one who is experiencing atrocious suffering or misfortune could be called happy; just as he recognizes that external and bodily goods, wealth, honour, health and beauty can contribute to happiness when they are present. His point is that these are not sufficient for *eudaimonia*. Martha Nussbaum and Julia Annas point out that some of the difficulties in equating the contemporary term *happiness* with *eudaimonia* arise because the translation is misleading or ambiguous (Nussbaum 2001). For Aristotle *eudaimonia* is also synonymous with and translated as *blessedness*, although without religious overtones (Annas 1995). This more closely links it with a conception of human flourishing or well-being of the soul (*daimon*), a lasting state of "living well" or "having lived well"; it presumes a life lived according to the virtues, so that in fact no-one can really be called *eudaimon* until s/he is dead. This aspect of *eudaimonia* clearly differentiates it from contemporary usage and the association of happiness with passing moods, positive affect and good fortune.

Achieving *eudaimonia* is clearly an inherently moral activity for Aristotle; and the value of friends of the best kind is that they help and reinforce one another in this achievement. As Michael Lynch points out, "[n]owadays, we tend to think that living a flourishing life is one thing and being moral is another. Indeed we think that the two can actually be at odds with one another" (2005, p. 137). This is in part due to modern assumptions as to the kind of satisfactions that a flourishing life might entail and, as Peter Railton's views suggest above, to the dichotomy we tend to create between self-directed and other directed thoughts and actions—a dichotomy which some philosophers argue is overcome in friendships of the best kind.

Comparing Aristotle's notion of happiness to our contemporary views, Annas explains that the contemporary notion of happiness displays two components: one an intuitive dimension and the other a theoretical dimension. The intuitive dimension

requires that happiness involves enjoying the good things of life, that life be pleasant and that we have access to "what in our society counts as affluence" (p. 365). This makes us dependent on external goods (health, wealth etc.), that is on things which can be matters of luck and not under our control. By contrast, the theoretical dimension requires that happiness goes beyond the immediate satisfactions or advantages of life, that it consists "in having what we value only for its own sake" and in being "in possession of what matters most, what is most valuable" (p. 365). This dimension of happiness is taken to be something within our own control and independent of what is external to us. Annas goes on to explain that Aristotle's view of happiness, which at some points appears to respond to the theoretical requirement of happiness, also responds to the intuitive component and as such she argues that it is as much a matter of debate and equally as unstable as current views are.

This conclusion may not seem auspicious, given that the next section of this chapter is to focus on the relationship between friendship and happiness and it is clear that philosophical definitions of happiness differ. They are either pessimistic about its sustained possibility; committed to a view of happiness which is at odds with everyday conceptions; or ambiguous and unstable as regards a view of happiness. However, this paper will argue that the treatment of relations between those we characterise as friends can at least in part help to expand our understandings of happiness as expressed by different philosophers.

Friendship and Happiness

The etymology of word *friend* connects its meaning with love, freedom and choice, suggesting an ideal definition of friendship as a voluntary relationship that includes a mutual and equal emotional bond, mutual and equal care and goodwill, as well as pleasure (Badhwar 1987; Lynch 2005). The requisite kind of care definitive of friendship implies that a friend's behaviour reflects or demonstrates that care (Frankfurt 1999), but philosophical definitions of friendship focus less on the socio-emotional goals that friendship is intended to facilitate (Demir et al. 2013) and more on the nature of the relationship itself. Aristotle's ideal or paradigm case of friendship (friendship of the good) enumerates a set of criteria that indicate that friends of the best kind mutually act or, as John Finnis explains, are willing to mutually act for one another's well-being, for each other's own sake; they are aware of one another's willingness, activity, and knowledge of this mutuality (Aristotle, *NE* 1170a24-b15), but these features are not focal points of their attention. They each co-ordinate at least some of their activities, "so that there is sharing, community, mutuality and reciprocity not only of knowledge but also of activity"; and Finnis notes that this normally indicates enjoyment and satisfaction (Finnis 1983).

Bennett Helm in *Love, Friendship and the Self* summarises the value of friendship of the good explaining that it promotes self-esteem, that it is life-enhancing, that friends act as mirrors to one another—enhancing their knowledge of themselves—and that they share activities and values which reinforce them in the sorts of

moral and intellectual activities which are constitutive of living well (Helm 2010). However, as Helm also points out (2010), such claims about the value of friendship are made in the context of friendship's desirable consequences, and are logically associated with positive affect or emotion. Consequently, tensions emerge between a utilitarian or instrumental view of friendship as a relationship which focuses on mutual benefit, pleasure and desirable outcomes by comparison with a non-instrumental view in which the focus is on care and concern for a friend for the friend's own sake. These tensions are evident in both the early and more modern literature on friendship and they imply concomitant tensions in conceptions of happiness, since we might expect happiness in instrumental friendships to be associated with mutual satisfaction and benefit or enjoyment; while happiness in non-instrumental friendships is likely to be a complex phenomenon given that it must grapple with the difficulty of articulating what might be entailed in showing care and concern for another for that person's own sake.

In the *Nicomachean Ethics,* Aristotle distinguishes three types of friendship; the non-instrumental, ideal or paradigm case of friendship noted above, and two lesser instrumental forms: friendships of utility or advantage and friendships of pleasure, both of which Aristotle regarded as friendship only by analogy with the ideal type. Friendship based on either utility or pleasure is inferior for Aristotle because utility and pleasure prove to be problematic foundations for relationship by comparison with goodness. If a friendship is based solely on the degree to which two friends are useful to one another, for example as business associates, the relationship is likely to founder if a business conflict arises. Those we regard as good or intimate friends—those we might see as approaching the Aristotelian ideal—do bring us some advantages and some pleasure; however, seeking these advantages and pleasures is not the motivational basis of the relationship and if the advantages and pleasure which accrue to us within such a friendship were to become our motivation for continuing it, the relationship could no longer be designated as a friendship of the good and would surely collapse in times of stress or difficulty. It is worth noting Pangle's use of Plato's *Lysis* to explore the view that all love and friendship is in fact rooted in defectiveness or need (2002, p. 28). Socrates' suggestion is that the dependence of happiness on the satisfaction of personal needs or deficiencies indicates that both happiness and friendship are in some sense rooted in evil. But as Pangle argues, Socrates exaggerates our defectiveness so as to attribute to us an inescapable self-concern. Certainly, we may have needs or deficiencies of which we may or may not be aware and their satisfaction within a friendship will bring pleasure; but this need not imply the disturbing possibility that our friendships are, at bottom, love of the remedies we need for evils within us (Pangle 2002). Rather, it could simply reinforce Aristotle's view that friendships of the good will also be useful to us. These comments might be seen to imply a challenge to the viability of Aristotle's taxonomy; and indeed Aristotle's perspective makes it difficult to clearly distinguish some relationships from others, e.g. relations between like-minded business associates (who receive mutual benefits from one another and whose interaction is underpinned by contractual agreements) from friendships of utility or pleasure. This confusion can be seen as indicating that, in fact, no relationship which is based

purely on utility or pleasure can be regarded as a friendship and this is why Aristotle refers to these as friendships only by analogy with friendships of the good. The confusion also leaves open the possibility that relationships between like-minded business associates may well develop into friendships if those involved move beyond utilitarian interactions. Aristotle's definition of the ideal kind of friend captures a feature which in fact appears to be a crucial element in all types of friendship, since to be regarded as friends individuals must show at least some degree of care and concern for one another for their own sakes and be prepared to express that care and concern in action. All things being equal, the nature of this care is indicative of the importance of the relationship to those engaged in it and makes the relationship intelligible as a friendship. A form of joint self-deception between so-called friends might allow a relationship based solely on utility or pleasure to persist over some time; but if it is made explicit to those involved in such a friendship—even a casual, fair-weather or irregular kind of friendship—that one or the other is entirely self-interested, the relationship is undermined.

Stern-Gillet points out that in the *Eudemian Ethics,* Aristotle distinguishes between "the love which responds to the very being of another person and that which remains contentedly at the periphery of his personality" (1995, pp. 66–67). This distinction may provide a better explanation of the varying degrees and types of friendship we observe in practice than the three-fold taxonomy which Aristotle presents in the *Nicomachean Ethics*. We can perhaps see Aristotelian friends of utility and pleasure as content to stay on the periphery of one another's personalities, by comparison with close friends (of the good) who respond to one another's very being and act for a good that is "truly common", as John Finnis puts it (1983, p. 149). The crucial point is that no friend deserving of the designation can be regarded as merely a means to an end within any friendship; regardless of its Aristotelian classification, any friendship requires that we see both the friend and the relationship as an end in itself and engagement with the friend as intrinsically worthwhile—at least to some extent or for some of the time, however briefly. Thus if we take the relationship between different types of friendship to be more nuanced than Aristotle's taxonomy might at first suggest, then the relationship between friendship and happiness is also likely to be nuanced—and might similarly be seen as a matter of degree.

Neera Kapur Badhwar's approach to the distinction between instrumental and non-instrumental friendships helps to illuminate these nuances. She argues that in instrumental or *means* friendship, the sole or primary feature of the relationship is the instrumental or means value of each friend to the other; while in non-instrumental or *end* friendships, the friends value each other's separateness and also love and wish each other well as ends in themselves (Badhwar 1987). In relation to instrumental friendships, Badhwar focuses on the notion of exploitation, explaining that "what makes a relationship exploitative is not the mere fact that it serves an end beyond itself, but that it violates the rightful expectations and obligations of one or both parties, where "rightfulness" is itself determined by wider moral criteria" (1987, p. 2). Badhwar goes on to claim that elements of such injustice are present in practically all relationships. It is clear that we are vulnerable within our friendships and hence that there is much at stake with regard to our enjoyment of or

satisfaction in relations between friends since we are justified in our expectations that friends will not exploit us or treat us unjustly. If an instrumental friendship is not to become exploitative, the friends must respond to the demands of justice: the rightful expectations of the other as an individual of equal worth. Such friends may, as Stern-Gillet suggests, have agreed—however tacitly—to interact at the periphery of one another's personalities; but they must nonetheless respect one another as individuals who owe one another what we might call "rightful" attendance, to co-opt Badhwar's terminology.

At the very least, rightful attendance requires acting toward one another as wider moral criteria stipulate, that is with civility, treating the other with the respect which all fellow human beings deserve. We might think of rightful attendance as an attitude of Kantian practical love which underpins our activity within instrumental friendships (Lynch 2005). But rightful attendance within an instrumental friendship ought also extend to giving consideration and responding appropriately to those admittedly peripheral aspects of a friend's personality which receive expression within the friendship, however limited that expression might be. Within the psychological literature, Mendelson and Kay (2003) explore the relationship between factors which might be associated with the notion of rightful attendance and which determine satisfaction within friendship and affection for a friend. It is the capacity for the kind of response and the expectations which rightful attendance entails that can distinguish an instrumental friendship from a relationship between like-minded business associates, in which the sole focus is the instrumental value of the interaction; and as Badhwar's argument suggests, it is this justified expectation which determines that even within a friendship we recognise to be primarily instrumental in nature, we are likely—and have good reason—to feel a particular disappointment and a degree of unhappiness if we are treated unjustly.

To be treated unjustly by a close friend within an *end* or non-instrumental friendship will cause us greater distress, also for good reason, since such friendships are those in which we take friends to be deeply concerned with and to love one another for their own sakes. Badhwar argues that happiness is intrinsic to the love which is definitive of *end* or non-instrumental friendship.

> Happiness is related to end love not as goal to means, but rather, as element to complex whole. So when x is loved as an end the happiness cannot, logically, exist apart from the love…By contrast, when x is loved as a means, the happiness is a further goal of the love, and can, logically, exist without it. (1987, p. 13)

Clearly, the relationship between happiness and end friendship is more complex than the relationship between happiness and instrumental friendship, but given the expectation of rightful attendance, our experience of instrumental friendship will also impact upon our happiness to differing degrees depending upon the particular context. The complex whole to which Badhwar refers will presumably encompass what Aristotle (*NE* 1165b30-1166b4) and Michel de Montaigne (1965) imply when they refer to friends of the ideal type as "second selves": virtuous friends who share a love which responds to the essence of one another's being rather than any accidental characteristics or qualities. There are connotations of self-love evident in the expression "second self" and an implication that we must treat a friend's good

as an aspect of our own good. But at the same time we must also value a friend's good for that friend's own sake so that, as Finnis explains, "every form of genuine friendship relativises our self-love without destroying or discrediting it"(p. 148); self-love is taken up into a new perspective in which one is no longer acting exclusively for one's own sake (or from one's own point of view) nor exclusively for one's friend's sake (or from his or her point of view); rather one is acting for a good that is "truly common" (pp. 148–149). While the precise nature of what is shared in common is not entirely transparent, it is clear that friendship of this kind is a form of human flourishing, given that it provides an opportunity for human beings to connect deeply with another person and that this kind of connection impacts upon our happiness. Within the psychological literature, research on the process of "inclusion of other in the self" (defined as the degree to which an individual's self-perception overlaps with his/her perception of a close other) addresses the kind of connection to which Aristotle, Montaigne and Finnis draw attention. This research by Weidler and Clark indicates a positive correlation between inclusion of other in the self and relationship satisfaction (2011). Terry Eagleton also captures a sense of this connection and the pleasure we take in it when he describes close friendship as a version of the Lacanian Imaginary, emphasising something of close friendship's resistance to being translated into rational or comparative terms. Eagleton (2011) encapsulates something of the joy which can occur—however, briefly—in the merging and mingling of identities between close friends. He describes the Imaginary as "a realm in which things give us back ourselves, if only we had a determinate enough self to appreciate it"; as a domain "in which knowledge is as swift and sure as a sensation"; and as akin to "some primitive bond of sympathy" (2009, p. 3) expressed for example in the way a small child may cry when another child takes a tumble (2009). This bond helps to explain the delight we can experience in interaction with friends, a delight illustrated in the description of Montaigne's love for his friend, Etienne de la Boétie. Writing in the sixteenth century, he claimed that their friendship amounted to a fusion which he could not explain: "our souls pulled together with such union" that "this [our love] cannot be expressed except by answering: Because it was he, because it was I" (Montaigne 1965, pp. 139–140). Akin to modern views of friendship, Montaigne gives pride of place to the uniqueness of the friend—what Stern-Gillet (1995, p. 75) refers to as the unicity—as well as to the individual irreplaceability or fungibility of the friend.

The uniqueness argument holds that in close friendships, friends regard one another as "second selves" and that this necessarily implies caring for a friend as the particular unique and irreplaceable individual s/he is. The research of Demir et al. (2013) clearly indicates that feelings of personal uniqueness account for the association of friendship quality (i.e. the sum of the multiple positive features of friendship, including closeness or intimacy) with happiness. This data confirms philosophical emphasis on the role of uniqueness in close or end friendships. However, as I have argued elsewhere (Lynch 2005) the concept of uniqueness or unicity itself is vague in modern conceptions of friendship and love. We want to be able to say that friends are loved uniquely, but also that they are loved for their particular qualities—which are not unique to the friend since they may well be qualities

which others possess; and despite the apparent contradiction, both of these forms of appreciation are sources of pleasure for us in loving a close friend. These kinds of considerations lead Stern-Gillet to suggest that modern friendship is fundamentally non-rational and perhaps not a matter for close analytical scrutiny—a view with which Eagleton might well concur. When Badhwar refers to irreplaceability within end friendship, in which one loves a friend as an end in herself, she argues that it is irreplaceability that marks end friendship off from instrumental friendship. Irreplaceability determines that loving a friend, valuing her and delighting in her is not commensurate with loving, valuing and delighting in another; the loss of that friend would be a distinct loss since that friend was an end in herself (1987); and this is so, despite the difficulty of explaining irreplaceability.

Helm argues that the desire for connection with one another, the intimacy of friends' knowledge of one another and the depth of the attachment they develop are "constitutive of import" and hence indicative of caring and emotional investment in the (irreplaceable) other (2010). Here we see the relationship between what we know and care about, the depth of our attachment and levels of joy or satisfaction. Helm explains this by describing emotions as "a kind of sensitivity or responsiveness to the import of one's situation" (2010, p. 58). A certain vigilance or preparedness normally accompanies import; we are generally attuned to respond emotionally to what we care about and our actions can be understood as rational expressions of emotion and as a commitment to the import of the focus of our attention, in this case the friend. Thus positive emotions such as satisfaction, delight and joy involve the sense that something good has happened to the focus of our attention, the friend; while negative emotions, like frustration or disappointment suggest the reverse (Helm 2010).

Helm's approach explains how in paradigm cases of friendship we are taken up into a new common perspective, much as Finnis argues (1983) and hence we are both deeply invested in one another. However, our care, concern and love for one another can cause us pain and sadness as well as pleasure or joy. Hence if happiness is intrinsic to the love which is definitive of end friendship in the way Badhwar suggests, happiness cannot be simply a matter of positive affect or the satisfaction of desire. Our mutual care, concern and love makes us responsive to one another's difficulties and suffering, as well as vulnerable to the possibility that our friend may fail to reciprocate our love and care. Friendship is a dialectical relationship in which import is felt and sustained by at least two parties and hence it is always "under construction" and to some extent open to tensions between the similarities we share and the differences which divide us. Jacques Derrida in his book, *The Politics of Friendship,* pushes us to recognise our vulnerability within friendship, given that friends, despite what they might share in common, are different people. Responding to the curious claim, variously attributed to Aristotle and to Diogenes Laertes, "my friends there is no friend", Derrida suggests that we ought to focus on the question of who the friend is (Derrida 1997). He is suggesting that we respect our separateness from our friends and consider how we are to understand and respond to the distance that inevitably separates us. One of the achievements of friendship from this perspective is the capacity to respect difference, to tolerate change; and to expect that in

friendship, one will experience disappointment and frustration as well as pleasure and joy, since conflicts will inevitably arise. The psychological literature also draws attention to the potential for conflict within friendship (Demir and Weitekamp 2007; Hinde 1997).

The etymology of the word happiness is illuminating in this context. In Old English 'hap' as in *happy*, shared with *happenstance* and *hapless*, reference to luck, chance or one's lot. The sense that our happiness is not entirely under our control or is determined in part by the situation in which we find ourselves is instructive, since it challenges the notion that happiness can be taken to consist in enduring positive affect; and certainly we accept that happiness in the form of positive affect or emotion is not a lasting state and that painful experience of some kind is an inevitable feature of human experience. If happiness is to be regarded as intrinsic to the love which is definitive of end friendship, then happiness ought to be defined within the eudaimonic, rather than primarily within the hedonic, tradition. Happiness within the paradigm case of friendship and perhaps more broadly, ought to be associated with human flourishing, with our understanding of flourishing and our expectations of what flourishing might entail for us. Practical wisdom would suggest that human flourishing is multi-faceted and demands some capacity for reflectivity with regard to the nature of our relationships, the degree of import they have for us and the fragility of those relationships given the possibility for change or conflict.

Reflection on the nature of happiness and of friendship reveals another feature they share in common: both preclude a certain kind of intentionality. Responding to our desire for happiness by attempting to directly pursue it, like directly or single-mindedly pursuing a friendship with someone we regard as a potential friend, will not ensure that we successfully achieve happiness or that we develop a friendship. In fact, doing so is more likely to guarantee frustration of our desire because happiness and friendship are states which can only be achieved indirectly. When we find our companions in an endeavour appealing, perhaps because they share our perspective on life, open us to new ways of thinking and relating or make us laugh, given our enjoyment, we are likely to look for opportunities to engage with them and this engagement may or may not lead to the development of a friendship. We must engage purposefully in activity with such companions, but without the particular purpose of developing a friendship. McMahon in *The Oxford Handbook of Happiness* makes the same point about happiness, when he argues that "the best way to find happiness, paradoxically, may well be to look for something else" (2013, p. 253). Engagement with friends provides a unique context within which we can appreciate both our similarities and differences from others, our potency, our pleasure and yet our limitations and vulnerability in relations with others. In this sense friendship is connected both with positive affect and with the Aristotelian idea of *eudaimonia*. As Julia Annas has explained (1995), *eudaimonia* does take happiness to be associated with enjoying the good things of life; to some extent dependent on good fortune and hence as the cause of positive affect or emotion. But it also recognises that happiness goes beyond the immediate satisfactions of life to consist in having what is valuable for its own sake, which includes the capacity to rationally evaluate our desires, to recognise the value of living a flourishing and meaningful life and

to appreciate the enjoyment of what might be beyond articulation in our experience of close friendship.

Psychological research into the impact of positive emotion in broadening attention and thinking and developing social bonds (Fredrickson 2003) suggests interplay between happiness conceived of as positive affect or emotion and happiness conceived of as a commitment to the intrinsic value of human flourishing. The *eudaimonic* tradition takes friendship to be a significant and meaningful component of a flourishing life; and this is partly for its instrumental value in eliciting positive emotion, but it is crucially for its non-instrumental value. Ryan and Deci (2001) explain that the hedonic approach to happiness emphasises increased positive affect and reduced negative affect, by comparison with the eudaimonic approach, which emphasises psychological well-being in terms of meaning, full-function and self-realization. This difference has meant that research into the complex construct of well-being within psychology has different foci; for the eudaimonic approach the focus is "on what the individual is doing or thinking rather than on how he or she is feeling" (Lent 2004, p. 484). However, from the philosophical perspective, the two traditions are not mutually exclusive approaches when considering the association between happiness and friendship; in fact they interact. While the *eudaimonic* tradition takes friendship to be a significant and meaningful component of a happy (flourishing or fulfilled) life, this is partly for its hedonic (instrumental) value in eliciting positive affect and also crucially for its non-instrumental value. Barbara Fredrickson's suggestion that positive emotions can also be cultivated indirectly by finding meaning in current circumstances (2003, p. 335) also implies an interaction between friendship and the two perspectives on happiness and well-being adopted in the psychological literature. A commitment to the value and meaning of our existing friendships, which, as claimed above, requires some degree of concern for the well-being and flourishing of one's friend for that friend's own sake, can elicit positive affect or emotion which has a role in a process of mutual reinforcement of both friendship and happiness. Reference to both the disciplines of philosophy and psychology is crucial in explaining this process of reinforcement.

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Friendship and Happiness from a Sociological Perspective

Silvana Greco, Mary Holmes and Jordan McKenzie

Introduction

This chapter explores friendship and happiness from a sociological perspective. Much of the study of the links between happiness and friendship in the lives of individuals has been conducted within psychology (Demir et al. 2013), whereas we shall show how sociology has ignored friendship (if we exclude Georg Simmel) until recently and has tended to examine happiness as it relates to changing perceptions of 'the good life', to interaction with others and to patterns of power. Sociological discourse focuses on how broader social and cultural transformations influence friendship and how an analysis of friendship helps us understand those transformations. It also analyses friendship during the whole life course in order to reveal how collective interaction is changing and how it affects the private sphere. It is argued that friendship plays a crucial role in people's lives, especially during critical events such as an illness, the death of near relative or the loss of a job. In modern societies friendship differs from in the past, being a particular interpersonal relationship based on reciprocity, trust and affect, which is freely chosen by individuals according to their elective affinities. Friends represent a precious social and emotional capital, providing a network, but also offering different kinds of resources such as emotional support, information, trust, financial support, and influence. In presenting these arguments, the first section outlines how happiness is understood

S. Greco (✉)
Institut für Judaistik, Freie Universität Berlin, Schwendenerstr. 27, 14195 Berlin, Germany
e-mail: silvana.greco@fu-berlin.de

M. Holmes
School of Social and Political Science, University of Edinburgh, 6.30 Chrystal Macmillan
Building15a, George, Square, Edinburgh EH8 9LD, UK
e-mail: mary.holmes@ed.ac.uk

J. McKenzie
Discipline of Sociology, University of New England, Armidale, NSW 2350, Australia
e-mail: jmcken28@une.edu.au

within sociological discourse, elaborating the different ways in which happiness has been defined throughout history and critical debates about whether a social focus on happiness contributes to individual subjective well-being or can function to regulate and constrain people within social structures. The second section continues by examining social conditions for happiness and offering a critical overview of happiness studies. The chapter then explores friendship in sociological discourse, examining debates around whether friendship fosters social cohesion or promotes social inequalities. Finally, we examine friendship and happiness in different social spheres, using examples from original research on friendships at work and on how friendships are navigated through online social media like Facebook.

Happiness in the Sociological Discourse

For philosophers and social scientists, the utility of happiness for individuals and the broader society has always been associated with social analysis. Throughout history individuals have strived for a happier life, for better living conditions and for increased well-being. As a result, happiness is a concept that has received different interpretations and definitions, according to different philosophical traditions and the more recent varying theoretical perspectives of economists, psychologists and sociologists. Yet, the application of sociological perspectives is often lacking in research on happiness (Kroll 2011), and there is reason to view this as a serious problem within the field.

There is a need to highlight the significance of social context when defining happiness, as the role of social interaction is often overlooked. For example, Aristotle (1983) describes the good life in terms of *eudaimonia* which involves a kind of well-being that results from a prosperous and virtuous lifestyle. Although Aristotle recognises the importance of cultural factors in the experience of social life, he considers the virtues and priorities associated with *eudaimonia* to be fixed, rather than socially constructed and flexible. From this definition, Aristotle differentiates himself from the Aristippean (435–366 B.C.) tradition, in which happiness—and more generally well-being—is related to the aim of maximizing everyday pleasure, in particular physical pleasure. Between the hedonism of Aristippus and the structured position of Aristotle, Epicurus can be seen as proposing an approach to the good life where pleasure is prioritised whilst gluttony is looked down upon. According to Ryan and Deci (2006), much of the research on happiness today involves either an individualised approach based on hedonism or a collective approach drawn from *eudaimonia*. Yet a sociological understanding of happiness and the good life needs to acknowledge both the importance of social and personal factors, whilst accounting for shifting cultural norms that change with time.

As underlined by Plé (2000), Aristotlian ways of thinking about subjective well-being are already visible in the work of Comte, the founding father of sociology. Comte's "notion of '*bonheur*' (happiness) denotes a state of intellectual enlightenment combined with sacral feelings of inclusion and consensus that result from

social progress" (as cited in Veenhoven 2008, p. 46). From this he develops a sociological approach to happiness that differs from psychological conceptualizations of it as an interior mental or emotional state of well-being characterized by positive emotions ranging from feeling pleasant to experiencing great joy. Meanwhile Daniel Haybron (2007) provides a definition of happiness, well-being and life satisfaction in regard to the use of empirical studies of happiness. According to Haybron, in much of the survey-based research on happiness, the terms happiness and well-being are used interchangeably (Haybron 2007). It is reasonable to presume that the experience of one implies the presence of the other, yet it is the notion of life satisfaction that yields unique results in empirical research. Life satisfaction alludes to a more contextualised and less pleasure based understanding of happiness that is closer to a notion of the good life. As a result, this chapter will consider happiness and well-being to be aligned (for the most part) and therefore in contrast to notions of life satisfaction or contentment.

From a sociological perspective, happiness is an important part of a broader subjective well-being (Bartram 2011) which must be understood within its social context (Illouz 1997). In sociology and related disciplines like cultural studies and feminist and queer theory, happiness is subject to critiques which question how it might contribute to oppression and be a key mechanism in forms of social control (Ahmed 2010). Others focus on defining happiness as the positive evaluation which a single individual gives his or her life, or some aspects of his or her life (Diener et al. 1997; Nuvolati 2002; Veenhoven 1984, 2008). According to Ruut Veenhoven, the evaluation of one's life is based upon two types of appraisals which represent the two components of happiness. The first is the affective, which refers to "the degree to which affective experience is dominated by pleasantness during a certain period" (Veenhoven 1984, p. 38). The second is cognitive (contentment), which has to be understood as "the degree to which an individual perceives his or her conscious aims to be achieved" (Veenhoven 2008). In other words, individuals go through a process of feeling and thinking via which they judge their achievements according to their aspirations. For others, such as Giampaolo Nuvolati (2002), the affective component is happiness in the strict sense, while the second component—the cognitive one—is defined as satisfaction. In this chapter the concept of happiness will be understood according to the conceptualization of Ruut Veenhoven. However, we would argue that the affective and the cognitive components of happiness are not always distinct as emotions are not the antithesis of reason, but play a crucial part in our reasoning and reflexivity (Holmes 2010).

Hence, for sociologists happiness is related to the more general well-being of an individual and of the whole society and is determined by specific living conditions. Generally sociologists distinguish between an objective and a subjective well-being, which together constitute the so called 'quality of life' because the individual is not a single rational atom but embedded in social relations and interacts constantly with other human beings. Therefore, the Italian sociologist Giampaolo Nuvolati (2002), defines objective well-being as specific needs whose satisfaction is based on the ownership and management of material and immaterial resources (objective living conditions). These needs also arise from human relations, or from the way in

which the individual relates to other human beings and to the whole society. He understands subjective well-being in terms of individuals' perception and evaluation of their satisfaction with their living conditions (satisfaction) and of their part in human and social relations (happiness). There have been some attempts to investigate these perceptions and evaluations.

"Happiness studies" have involved research that has tried to examine the extent and degree of happiness within contemporary societies, but from a sociological viewpoint these studies need to be considered within the context of broader examinations of the 'quality of life' and how it has changed relative to developing social conditions. During the 1970s, sociological attention to quality of life flourished, but prior to this, a number of sociologists had already stressed the importance of examining the quality of life in post-industrial societies (see Elias 1939/2000, 2001; Marcuse 1964, 1969). Yet for Daniel Bell, in industrial societies quality of life was seen as determined according to the quantity of goods required to reach a reasonable standard of living. Whereas in post-industrial society he defined this quality of life in terms of the services and amenities—health, education, recreation, and the arts—which are now deemed desirable and possible for everyone (Bell 1973). Meanwhile Richard Sennett (1970) had concerns about the new sources of fulfilment in post-industrial societies where the interest in *wants* had surpassed the interest in *needs*.

Thus, for sociologists, an important aspect of happiness is that it is socially constructed, since it depends on shared and collective notions about life which frame individual appraisals (Veenhoven 2008). Indeed, the notion of happiness is not stable, it changes over time and has different meanings in different countries. According to some sociologists, societies such as America have a higher propensity towards optimism—thus highlighting the positive aspects of life. Others, such as French society, tend to be more pessimistic and underline the negative aspects (Ostroot and Snyder 1985). Finally, according to Ruut Veenhoven (2008), an additional cognitive process involved in achieving subjective well-being is that of "reflected appraisal". Individuals make a positive appraisal of their life if other individuals make the same kind of appraisal and vice versa (p. 47).

Sociologists have also underlined that subjective well-being and, in particular, happiness is a multidimensional and multi-factorial *social* phenomenon. Happiness has an impact upon different aspects of the life of a social actor and it is influenced by different factors. In short, happiness must be understood as "socially situated" (Illouz 1997, p. 61), as made difficult or easy for different social groups experiencing different historical and social conditions.

Social Conditions for Happiness

There are a number of key debates regarding empirical studies of happiness and well-being that need to be briefly assessed at this point. Perhaps the most divisive debate in the field is in regard to the Easterlin paradox which suggests that as wealth increases, so do the expectations of individuals (Easterlin 2001). This causes either

a decline in happiness and subjective well-being as wealth increases—as suggested by Lane (2000)—or simply a lack of any major change to the individual's self-reported level of well-being. The Easterlin paradox is troubling for social researchers, but also policy makers, economists and politicians, as it strikes at the core of a key assumption made about the welfare of individuals in modernity; namely that improving living standards will result in happier individuals. However this paradox has been rejected by a number of key researchers, most notably, Ruut Veenhoven.

Veenhoven (2010) disputes claims that happiness is in decline by citing more recent happiness research from 2000 to 2008 and comparing health and life expectancy data between generations. Research has underlined that in the last 40 years, inequality in the levels of happiness experienced by different class groups has decreased in modern nations (Veenhoven 2010, 2005). Recent research using data and new measurements from the World Value Survey indicate that the more equal a society the more equally distributed happiness is amongst its citizens (Delhey and Kohler 2011, 2012).

Rather than solely focusing on wealth, the political conditions such as social and democratic participation in a country have a strong impact on subjective well-being. In particular, empirical research has demonstrated that political freedom correlates positively with happiness and that political violence and political protest correlates negatively with happiness (Frey and Stutzer 2002; Veenhoven 2008). *Social participation*—meaning people's engagement in their communities and their *active democratic involvement*—generally enhances people's subjective well-being and happiness. It does so because it increases people's social capital, which means their social networks and the resources that they can get from these networks such as trust, information and opportunities. Social participation (as indeed Durkheim 1902/1964, 1897/1952 sets out) also fosters happiness by giving individuals a sense of having control and being part of society (Veenhoven 2008). More specifically, recent literature has shown that "friends bring more social trust, less stress, better health, and more social support, which are positively related to [subjective well-being]" (Van der Horst and Coffe 2010, p. 526).

With the increased demand for research to produce correlations between social indicators (which may include friendship in the form of social capital) and happiness levels, it is important to consider the limitations of such studies. For example, a factor that often enhances happiness is the level of education since it increases the chances for gaining a higher income and, therefore, supports social mobility (Veenhoven 2008). Also, investigations have shown that religious persons are generally happier, healthier, more satisfied with their life and suffer fewer psycho-social consequences from traumatic events than non-religious persons (see for example, Ellison 1991; Koening et al. 2001; Maton 1987). However these correlations do not support causality, rather it is necessary to consider the complexity of social life and the influence of expectations. If individuals with low levels of education are found to be less happy than those who are highly educated, then we must consider whether education is a symptom or a cause of unhappiness. Therefore, in order to best utilise happiness studies from a sociological perspective, it is important to avoid oversimplifying the complex and highly influential nature of social experience.

At a *meso level* of analysis, the sociological literature on the causes and social processes that enhance happiness includes considerable attention to the role of the private sphere of intimate ties and relationships, but with little attention to friendship. Family life may foster happiness through social and emotional support, especially during difficult times and in moments of transition (Veenhoven 1984). More specifically, marital happiness has been the subject of many studies. These shifted from the 1950s when marital happiness was found to correlate positively with the husband having higher occupational status and power, to the late 1970s (Glenn and Weaver 1978) when results showed that husband-wife similarities in socio-economic status were more likely to produce happiness. Other important variables which enhance happiness in the family are sexual enjoyment, creation of time for one another, age at marriage, and emotional rewards. Children may decrease happiness in low income families as spouses often experience stress related to the management of their children (Peiro 2006). In dual income families the reconciliation between work and family life can be difficult especially in those countries lacking public support in terms of services and welfare (see for example, Ehrenreich and Hochschild 2003).

This brings us to research on the public sphere, including paid work and voluntary activities, and how they might indicate that friendship is important to happiness. Many studies have underlined that job satisfaction increases individual happiness and self-esteem where jobs offer work values, career opportunities, autonomy, complexity and social participation (Pugliesi 1995). Being unemployed negatively affects people's happiness since it is perceived as personal failure and hence, reduces self-esteem (Peiro 2006), but also because it decreases control over one's life and reduces social interaction. On the other hand, voluntary work in clubs, and places of worship seems particularly rewarding in terms of happiness because it fosters social inclusion (Patulny 2004), including opportunities to make friends.

Finally, at a *micro* level of analysis—focusing on the single individual—the sociological literature has pointed out that attributes such as physical health and general mental effectiveness help people to be happier but so do specific attitudes that we could call friendliness. Being open, empathic and tactful, helps people to get better along with others and hence increases their subjective well-being (Veenhoven 1984). This finding has been supported more recently in the "World Happiness Report" where levels of trust and mental and physical health were shown to be more important to happiness than household income (Helliwell et al. 2012). The importance of relating to others noted in the sociological discourse on happiness indicates that it is vital to think further about friendship.

Friendship in Sociological Discourse

Sociological literature on friendship has debated its importance for social cohesion versus its role in reproducing wider social inequalities. Although social structural and psychological aspects may combine to create friendship patterns that vary

from one society to another (Adams and Blieszner 1994), sociological emphasis has tended to focus on structural issues. Georg Simmel (1900/1989), unlike the other founding scholars in the discipline, specifically discussed friendship as an important social form (*Wechselwirkung*) among individuals occupying the same social position. He argued that it involves two main emotions: faithfulness and gratitude. These two emotions produce not only strong ties between individuals but are also key elements for the continuity of institutions and, hence, for society's stability (Flam 2002; Simmel 1900/1989). In similar terms, perspectives such as network theory emphasise the importance of analyzing the different forms of friendship networks and the type of resources, such as social capital, that they provide (Greco 2012; Parks-Yancy 2006). Others have noted how friendship operates within the constraints of class, gender, age and ethnicity (Allan 1977; Bidart 1997; Di Nicola 2006; Fischer and Oliker 1983; Kao and Joyner 2005; Mandich 2003; Marks 1998; O'Connor 1998; Oliker 1998; Walker 1994). Friendship is not just produced by but can produce social stratification (Allan 1977, 1998; Silver 1990) and can reinforce and reproduce palpable social differences (Rawlings 1992).

However, friendship is both subject to social change and helps individuals maintain some sense of a stable identity. Some authors have argued that the great social and cultural transformations in Western intimacy since the 1960s, have had an impact in enhancing the role friendship plays in personal life (Allan 2008; Ghisleni and Rebughini 2006; Oliker 1998; Pahl 2000; Weeks 2007). Other important changes have occurred around friendship and intimacy in the workplace. For instance, feminist research has shed light on the different kind of 'work culture' amongst the increasing numbers of women in the workforce (see Marks 1998). This hints at the importance of friendship in how identity is experienced. From a phenomenological perspective friendship is understood as "a specific social relation based on an exchange of an *intimate trust* between the individuals involved in the relationship that foresees regularity and continuity and a true representation of one's identity" (Ghisleni and Rebughini 2006, p. 54).

The interactive component of friendship, is one of its key dimensions, the others being an emotional component—especially trust and reciprocity, which are necessary for happy friendships. Also self-narration to friends is crucial to the construction of personal identity and the recognition of the Self (Ghisleni and Rebughini 2006). The construction and development of a friendship across the entire life course of a person, is an articulated, complex and multidimensional social interaction (Ghisleni and Rebughini 2006, p. 41). Within these friendship interactions, strong feelings and sentiments are the "glue". Emotions may include affection and joy, but also anger and sorrow due to the friend's deceptions (Ghisleni and Rebughini 2006). The initial elective affinity and emotional involvement lead to a profound emotional intimacy between friends, which also characterizes other intimate relationships such as love relationships in contemporary societies (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 1995; Giddens 1992). However, much of personal life is still structured by inequalities (Jamieson 1999; Smart 2007) and, hence, still far away from the optimistic "pure relationship", conceptualized by Giddens (1992). Indeed, in more recent times with the separation of commercial relations and personal life, "friendship could become

a matter of sympathy and affection devoid of calculation of interest" (Jamieson 1999, p. 480) and necessity. Emotional intimacy develops between friends thanks to the disclosure and free expression of emotions such as joy and happiness but also sadness, sorrow, and depression. These emotions are related to the experiences and memories that are narrated *to* the friend who is actively involved in listening to his/her friend, or experiences these emotions with the friend. Hence, we understand emotion neither as reducible to inner emotional states nor as just an external "pure stimulus" to which the individual reacts. An emotion is not as an "inbuilt" mental or bodily reaction or instinct. Rather emotions are "done in interaction with others; they involve bodies, thought, talk and action" (Holmes 2010, p 149). Recent research suggests that an awareness of the salience of emotions in adult friendship is evident amongst men and women respondents belonging to different ages and generations (Ghisleni and Rebughini 2006). This challenges earlier findings about gender differences around friendship (for example Fischer and Oliker 1983; Nardi 1992) with women underlining more the emotional dimension of friendship (what you feel for and with a friend) and men the instrumental dimension (what you do with a friend). In all cases, trust (defined as "a confident expectation regarding another's behaviour" (Barbalet 2009, p. 2; see also Bandelj 2009; Beckert 2005) [3]; Lewis and Weigert 1985) is necessary between friends to make sure that confidences are not betrayed; that the friend can expect that his/her friend behaves properly and in line with his/her commitments. Reciprocity is also important in ensuring ongoing, happiness-promoting friendships. Feelings of obligation to friends make a person "*indebted* to the donor, and he remains so until he repays" (Gouldner 1960, p. 21), thus contributing to the stability of the relationship. Disruption to the norm of reciprocity can lead to a crisis in the friendship, or in more extreme cases, to the friendship breaking down (Ghisleni and Rebughini 2006). Where friendships promote happiness they also do so by permitting, through the narration of the Self to the friend, the disclosure and construction of personal identity and the recognition of the Self (Ghisleni and Rebughini 2006). Indeed, as the Italian sociologist Alberto Melucci affirmed: "to narrate has to do with identity in two senses: not only because individuals construct themselves through the narration but also because they present themselves to others" (Melucci 2000, p. 115). This presentation is key to social recognition (Jedlowski 2000) and to happy friendships, because needs and emotions can, to a certain extent, only gain confirmation by being directly satisfied or reciprocated, "recognition itself must possess the character of affective approval or encouragement" (Honneth 1995, p. 118).

In friendship the recognition of the Other is not only experienced as a cognitive process for the persons involved in the relationship but primarily as a strong emotional process. Indeed, as the psychoanalytic tradition has underlined, emotional conditions are of primary importance for the development of personhood. The desire to be recognized and accepted produces trust in the individual and their capacities and abilities (Honneth 1995). This trust is a pre-condition for being active in all other social spheres. Indeed, the increase in self-esteem that derives from the recognition by others of the individual's capabilities and skills, but also of their inner value, produces emotions such as pride. Kemper (1978) similarly argues that pride

arises from an increase in status and represents an important source for the *emotional stability* of a person. It is not only a simple recognition and acceptance of the self but an ongoing identity formation process especially in moments of great difficulty. A friend's support can involve not only giving advice but offering a new perspective for looking at our self, sometimes being harsh and critical to support a transformation (Ghisleni and Rebughini 2006). However, as will be discussed, friendship can breakdown in ways that provoke a misrecognition of the Other. This misrecognition of the friend makes the separation from him/her particularly emotionally painful—frustration, anger, depression result—leading to a final breakdown of the friendship.

Friendship and Happiness in Different Social Spheres

Friendship is vital to happiness in many areas of social life, but in this section we will focus on two examples to elaborate how and why it is important and how sociologists study it. The first example is friendship at work, the other example is friendship as conducted online via social media like Facebook.

As we have seen, a sociology of happiness and friendship can contribute to understanding the reproduction of, or resistance to, social relations of power, and this is evident in examining the workplace. Sociologists have underlined the complexity of work organizations as social systems (Selznick 1948), regulated by norms and values where workers occupy different positions in terms of power and status and where social interactions can be consensual but also conflicting, as with those between managers and workers (Arensberg 1951; Roy 1960; Dalton 1959). In the sociological literature of organization the topic of friendship has been long neglected because organizations have been conceived of as pure places of production governed by rigid rational principles aimed at maximizing profits (Greco 2012). This simplified economic conception of work organizations has been questioned by sociologists since the 1930s and 1940s. Indeed, our research on friendship in adulthood (Ghisleni et al. 2012) found that working with a friend-colleague, rather than other workers makes the work much more passionate, more fun and pleasant because the work is easier due to the collaboration but also because it permits workers to express their inner-world and related emotions more openly (Greco 2012). Having friend-colleagues also means that work is interspersed by moments of leisure time, for example singing songs together, having a chat or a cup of tea. All this leads to positive emotions such as joy and happiness which make work much more pleasant, satisfying and, as one of our interviewees' notes "much more pleasant and productive" (Greco 2012, p. 142). Only in the last two decades have sociologists analysed in more depth the relationship between co-workers and pointed out the importance of emotions and friendship in such relationships (Ashforth and Humphrey 1995) and the impact on workers' performance and satisfaction (see Alison and Montague 1998; Farrell 2001; Lincoln and Miller 1979).

Moments of leisure time during working hours give co-workers the opportunity to relax in the midst of a tough and competitive working day, made of stressful

moments and of feelings of anxiety and, hence, to express emotions of happiness and well-being. Such breaks from the working routine have been conceptualized in the sociological literature as *organizational time-outs* which "refers to the moments connected with work but placed outside of the everyday working context and its routine" (Corigliano 2001, p. 37; see also May, 1999; Roy 1960). These *time-outs* as Corigliano states (2001, p. 37) drawing on Van Maanen and Kunda's ethnographical research (Van Maanen and Kunda 1989), are moments in "which the norms that regulate the social relations are suspended and redefined according to the new situation". A song, or a joke about a banana (Roy 1960), represent a clear signal that a *time-out* is going to start. These *time -outs* give the opportunity for *role release* (Goffman 1967) from the formal rules of the role but remain at the same time inside an institutionalized and predictable framework. These time-outs, as other scholars have underlined, are themselves regulated by implicit emotional norms: they do not represent moments of free expression of the "emotional Self" (Flam 1990) and the related free expression of emotions. When these time-outs are repeated and become a kind of ritual, they have the function of strengthening the sense of solidarity, the complicity and affect between the friend-co-workers (May 1999; Roy 1960).

Besides this playful dimension of friendship in adulthood at the workplace, which strengthens the relationship between co-workers and enhances a sense of belonging to the work organization, the role of a friend-colleague allows quicker integration into the work organisation and the working career. Indeed, with a friend co-worker it is generally easier to acquire specific abilities and competences needed in the organization thanks to daily interactions at the workplace with the friend co-worker. In addition, in big and competitive work organizations having a friend co-worker is crucial since he/she helps to build strategic alliances, which can support their working career. Moreover, friendship at work represents a solid barrier against negative attacks from other co-workers, interested in "eliminating" other workers in order to reach the more rewarding and successful positions inside the organization. As we have seen, ameliorating his/her working career and not being expelled from the labor market leads generally to a happier life, especially if work is satisfying and complex.

Friendship also fosters solidarity and collaboration in moments of stress, which supports workers by enabling them to continue with their work responsibility and goals. When the individual worker is the victim of important critical events (Schmid 1998)—such as tragedies in the form of the death of relatives or a serious illness (such as a heart attack), to have a friend-colleague is of great help in allowing them to express their emotions of suffering and sadness. This helps them to deal with the tragedy, supports their emotional stability (Ghisleni 2006) and assists in reconstructing the self. The friend supports the reconstruction of the self by reflecting a positive representation of the Other and therefore encouraging self-esteem, which is a key element for a positive identity formation. In addition, workers experiencing difficulties do not feel abandoned and isolated because the friend-colleague provides a link to the work organization which allowed them to continue working and to not lose their jobs. In such situations, there is a reinforcing process that Ghisleni

(2006, p. 141) calls the "circularity of the dynamic of identification-recognition" which strongly reinforces the friendship.

Friends also help in maintaining or restoring happiness in the face of a critical event to which workers are more and more exposed, that is the loss of their jobs due to organizational restructuring, the end of an employment contract, economic crisis, or the need of a more appropriate self-realization at work. During these employment transitions from one economic status to another (employed to unemployed and then vice versa) (Schmid 1998), typical within the current post-Fordist production paradigm, friends play a significant role. These employment transitions are generally experienced by individuals as periods full of distress and anxiety for the future, with great suffering in rediscovering a meaningful direction in life and a new work identity. These experiences can lead to social vulnerability and exclusion (Greco 2000). Hence, friends help alleviate the suffering, unhappy moments and assist in regaining self-confidence. In some cases, friends support re-entry into the labor market by facilitating the finding of a job (Greco 2012).

Another insight that a sociological approach to friendship and happiness offers is that changing social conditions and ways of relating may be making friendship not just useful at work, but turning it into the most important form of intimate relationship (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2001; Ghisleni 2012; Roseneil 2005), central to personal happiness. Changing technology provides one example. Online social media sites like Facebook are becoming important in the way friendships are managed, for large numbers of people. Advice about Facebook etiquette available on the internet indicates that a variety of emotional alternatives are possible and there is a more participatory and egalitarian negotiation of relational and emotional norms (Holmes 2011). Beer and Burrows (2007) argue that technologies change so quickly that sociologists cannot keep up. Neither it seems can the people using them and reassurance is sought from their user communities. In relation to previous social changes, Norbert Elias (1939/2000) traced a formalisation of manners in which bodily and emotional self-restraint grew in importance up until the nineteenth century. Wouters (2007) argued that the twentieth century saw a relaxing of etiquette and an emotionality that was diversified and democratised, but also reliant on more individual reflexivity. Online as well as offline presentation of self suggests less emotional restraint within societies where egalitarian relations are now seen as ideal, and friendship is thought the model of that ideal (Roseneil 2005). However, it is difficult to know when to happily enjoy less restraint with "friends" within current complex and blurring boundaries between friendship and other kinds of intimate relationship (Spencer and Pahl 2006). Especially difficult can be shifting between the more formal manners still usually expected in relating to "friends" of higher social status and the informality required by peers. It can be emotionally difficult to manage diverse audiences, but people friend selectively and edit and limit their posts and profiles with some "friends". Many are playful and funny in their use of social networks, although role conflict is often an issue in dealing with parents, bosses and peers being able to see posts (Holmes 2011).

Online rules of etiquette are expected to follow those offline and it is still the case that people friend and "defriend" others carefully in order to avoid hurting

people or making them unhappy (Holmes 2011). Users of Facebook and other social media may be advised to exercise self-restraint in avoiding rudeness or nastiness, partly because general principles of pacification (Elias 1939/2000) apply. Turning down friend requests needs to be carefully done as part of displaying a civilised self whilst maintaining a sense of having high quality friendships. Those overly free in friending may be accused of being a Facebook "whore", who has too many friends and is too interested in self-display (Holland and Harpin 2008, pp. 126). Removing someone from your list of friends or defriending also requires some care. The potential emotional consequences of severing friendship ties are still thought to be serious if there is a 'real' intimacy. It is hard to avoid embarrassment and to maintain "real" friendships that enhance happiness and well being within the quickly shifting diversity of contemporary relationships.

Some informalising of emotional norms has occurred, but happiness in the twenty-first century is not free of power struggles (Ahmed 2010). Social constraints are more varied and uncertain, but still centre around status relations within key social settings such as family, education and work. In looking at online advice about Facebook etiquette we can see people discussing how they should feel about friendship and attend to the feelings of others, given that the guiding force of tradition has considerably lessened and greater complexity emerged. Relationality is more diverse but not necessarily more fluid and flexible. People are unsure about how to feel in the range of types of interactions they experience both on and offline. The complex diversity of friendship interactions within contemporary life requires emotional reflexivity, which means reflecting and acting based on interpretation of ones own and other peoples' feelings (Holmes 2011).

People are reflexive in considering how to create happy friendships and other relationships, but happiness is not inevitably linked to friendly relations. Why some might be more effective in employing emotional reflexivity to achieve happiness requires further research. It is clear that finding happiness in friendships has to be negotiated around the possibilities and constraints of particular sets of social relations. Within expanded definitions of friendship, differing social status can still make friendships a problem. Co-workers might become valuable friends and contribute to individual happiness and well-being, but friending your boss or kids might be more likely to produce anxiety or embarrassment. Friends can be a valuable resource in finding a job or providing support during difficult times, but some friends might be less helpful in such circumstances and more just for fun (Spencer and Pahl 2006). Sometimes friendship might undermine happiness, sometimes it might enhance it. The task of sociology is to analyse the ways in which current social conditions are likely to produce particular kinds of connection between friendship and happiness.

Concluding Remarks

Sociologists question whether happiness and friendship inevitably go together and consider how the relationship between the two depends very much on the kinds of social meanings and social conditions in which friendship is played out. Focusing

on happiness may not always be a good thing for individuals or societies, whether this focus produces well-being will depend on changing social conditions. Research on the social conditions for happiness presently suggests that the kinds of conditions that produce happiness are varied. Forms of happiness that translate into well-being for most people are likely to rely on having strong welfare regimes, are not necessarily related to personal or national wealth but more likely to occur where there is greater social equality. More people are likely to be happier where there is greater social and political participation and hope of social mobility (usually linked to good levels of education). Certain individual attributes are likely to contribute to happiness such as religious belief, good mental and physical health, an empathetic outlook and strong connections to others. The latter suggests that friendship, as it becomes increasingly important in people's intimate lives, will be crucial to happiness. However, sociologists have debated about whether friendship produces social cohesion or reproduces inequalities. Friendship networks can help some individuals 'get ahead' but may keep others linked to violent or dangerous communities or make life difficult for the lack of the "right" connections. However, friendships can promote individual happiness by enhancing a sense of stable identity and allowing for emotional intimacy, expressed within trusting and reciprocal relationships. This can allow both better recognition of others and positive self-development. All these features of friendship and happiness are apparent in the examples we give relating to the social spheres of work and online social media. These examples contribute to considering under what kinds of social conditions happiness can be achieved through friendship in ways likely to enhance well-being for the majority.

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Friends and Happiness: An Evolutionary Perspective on Friendship

David M. G. Lewis, Laith Al-Shawaf, Eric M. Russell and David M. Buss

Friendships are fundamental to human social life. People direct great effort toward both the formation and maintenance of friendships, investing time, energy, money, and emotional resources. Across cultures, friendship is reliably linked to the experience of positive emotions such as happiness (Brannan et al. 2013; Camfield et al. 2009; Chan and Lee 2006; Lu 1995, 1999; for a review see Demir et al. 2013), an association that is present in both same-sex and cross-sex friendships (Argyle 1999), and which holds from early adulthood (Demir and Weitekamp 2007) through old age (Larson et al. 1986). Why are friendships so important to our happiness?

An evolutionary perspective may shed light on this issue. Friendships were almost certainly recurrently linked to survival and reproduction during human evolutionary history, and the specific benefits that accrue to individuals in different types of friendship may offer unique insight into the evolutionary impetuses for these relationships. An evolutionary perspective can offer insight into how specific types of friendship would have benefitted ancestral humans in both the currency of natural selection—reproductive success—and the currency of subjective well-being, happiness.

In this chapter, we discuss the relationship between friendship and happiness from an evolutionary perspective by outlining the hypothesized ancestral functions of friendship, and explain why we would expect immersion in such friendships to result in positive emotions such as happiness. We then explore the empirical literature on different friendship types and how each friendship type (e.g., same-sex

D. M. G. Lewis (✉)
Psychology Department, Bilkent University, 06800 Ankara, Turkey
e-mail: david.lewis@bilkent.edu.tr

D. M.G. Lewis · L. Al-Shawaf · E. M. Russell · D. M. Buss
The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, USA

E. M. Russell
The University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington, USA

37

friendship, cross-sex friendship) is characterized by a unique profile of benefits as well as costs. Finally, we propose evolutionarily inspired strategies for individuals to enhance their friendships and maximize the happiness they reap from these important social relationships.

An Evolutionary Approach to Friendship and Happiness

An evolutionary approach may yield valuable insight into why friendships and immersion in quality social relationships are consistently linked to happiness (Corneau 2009; Demir et al. 2013). It suggests that positive emotions such as happiness are produced by motivational programs that evolved because of their ability to guide ancestral humans to repeat behaviors associated with increased survival and reproductive success (Cosmides and Tooby 2000; Hill et al. 2013; Kenrick et al. 2010). Having friends would have dramatically increased ancestral humans' likelihood of survival and reproduction (Tooby and DeVore 1987). Consequently, selection could have favored mechanisms that produced happiness in response to such friendships to the extent that this subjective experience motivated ancestral humans to form and maintain these beneficial relationships. In the following section, we briefly outline several different evolutionary pathways by which psychological adaptations to form and maintain friendships could have evolved.

Evolutionary Models of Friendship

Reciprocal Altruism

Non-evolutionary research has investigated friendship as a means of social exchange in which individuals select friends on the basis of the costs and benefits associated with these friendships (Befu 1977; Emerson 1976; Homans 1958). Although these hypotheses about friend preferences and selection do not articulate the specific benefits exchanged in these friendships, an evolutionary perspective can illuminate how such social exchange relationships could have evolved. The theory of reciprocal altruism postulates that altruistic tendencies toward non-relatives can evolve when the delivery of benefits is reciprocated at some point in the future (Axelrod 1984; Cosmides and Tooby 1992; Trivers 1971). Such exchange relationships can result in net fitness benefits for both parties involved—a condition economists refer to as a "gain in trade" (Kemp 1995). Selection could thus have led to the evolution of mechanisms that motivate individuals to form and maintain these highly beneficial social exchange relationships.

To illustrate how such exchange relationships could have evolved, consider the adaptive problem our ancestors faced of hunting large game to acquire meat. Ancestral humans rarely hunted large game alone due to the risky and costly nature of

hunting dangerous prey (Milton 1999; Tooby and DeVore 1987). Ancestral humans who formed friendships and coalitions in the service of solving this adaptive problem would have experienced improved survival and reproductive rates, as these coalitions incur fewer costs and enjoy greater success in the hunt for dangerous game (Buss 2004; Hill and Hurtado 1996; Tooby and DeVore 1987). Because individuals who hunted together were more likely to secure nutritious food, over many generations, selection would have favored mechanisms that motivated individuals to form friendships and coalitions to achieve these goals.

The key concept illustrated here is that friendships relationships may have delivered unique sets of benefits linked to ancestral humans' survival and reproduction. It is likely that our ancestors benefitted greatly from these kinds of relationships, and that reciprocal exchange formed the basis not only for many ancestral friendships, but for the mechanisms that lead to friendships in modern environments as well.

The Alliance Model of Friendship

Another recent evolutionary perspective suggests that human friendship is based on evolved computational systems for building alliances (DeScioli and Kurzban 2012, 2009). The alliance-building model is distinct from the theory of reciprocal altruism, as it is not based on exchange, but rather on concerns about interpersonal conflict. These concerns are a central feature of the alliance-building model, but do not feature prominently in reciprocal altruism models of human friendship.

The central premise of the alliance model is that humans habitually get into conflicts with one another. Having a supportive network of alliances is crucial to successfully navigating these problems and emerging on the "winning" side of direct interpersonal conflicts. Crucially, the likelihood of winning such conflicts depends not only on one's own wit, agility, and physical formidability, but also on one's ability to mobilize other individuals—friends—to support one in such conflicts.

The alliance-building model of friendship proposes that humans have evolved computational systems dedicated to cognitively representing different friends' degree of loyalty to oneself, because those who are most loyal are most likely to provide support in future disputes. DeScioli and Kurzban (2012) insightfully note that "individuals frequently have relationships with both sides in a conflict, particularly because human social networks are locally dense" (p. 216). This suggests that ancestral humans needed to be able to determine whom they would support in any possible pairwise within-group conflict—including one between two close friends. As the authors suggest, one way to do this is to rank one's allies, prioritizing certain friendships over others.

The most important aspect of this hypothesis is that an individual (let's call him Tom) should count among his closest friends *those who rank him as one of their closest friends*. The logic is that those who consider Tom a very close friend are those who are most likely to be fiercely loyal to him and support him in future

disputes. This leads to the central prediction derived from the alliance-building hypothesis: other individuals' ranking of Tom should be the strongest predictor of Tom's ranking of these same individuals. By contrast, the reciprocal exchange hypothesis predicts that the friends who provide the largest benefits should be ranked highest. And still other non-evolutionary perspectives contend that the key predictors of friendship rankings will be proximity, similarity, and familiarity (e.g., see Berscheid et al. 1971; Byrne et al. 1968; Singh and Ho 2000).

In three different samples that measured a host of different variables, DeScioli and Kurzban (2009) found that, as predicted, Tom's (perceived) rank in his friends' lists was the strongest predictor of his own friend rankings. Interestingly, consistent but weaker effects were also found for benefits, similarity, and secret-sharing. These findings are intriguing, since they suggest that perceived friendship ranking (which the researchers view as a proxy for loyalty in future disputes) is a more important determinant of friendship closeness than a variety of other predictors put forth by alternative evolutionary and non-evolutionary models. However, the alliance-building and reciprocal exchange hypotheses are not mutually exclusive, and friendship may serve multiple functions.

Positive Externalities

Although reciprocal exchange may be one viable route for human friendship to evolve, altruism in the context of friendship often appears distinctly non-reciprocal in nature. Some scientists argue against the idea that friendship is based on explicit reciprocity, because many individuals report feeling good assisting a close friend, and report no desire for compensation or future reward (Tooby and Cosmides 1996; DeScioli and Kurzban 2012). Rather, an emphasis on returning favors is indicative of a relationship that is *not* close; repayment of debts and favors is not characteristic of close friendships (Argyle and Henderson 1984). Consistent with this, people perceive a *lack* of friendship when someone insists on the return of a favor (Shackelford and Buss 1996). At least at the level of conscious awareness, then, reciprocal altruism is not a defining characteristic of friendship.

Tooby and Cosmides (1996) propose an alternate model for the evolution of friendship mechanisms based on the notion of *positive externalities*—unintentional benefits that individuals deliver to others without any cost to themselves (Tooby and Cosmides 1996). To illustrate the idea of a positive externality, imagine that you and your friend both need to go to the grocery store, but your friend does not have a car. By allowing your friend to ride along in your car, you provide her with a benefit and yet you incur no additional cost; you were already going to the store. Traditionally, however, this would not be classified as true biological altruism, as the classical definition of the concept of altruism in biology requires that the actor pay a cost in the delivery of benefits to another individual. Tooby and Cosmides (1996) make the insightful point, however, that the *less* costly it is to deliver benefits to others, the more widespread we should expect such benefit-bestowing behavior to

be. Furthermore, once benefit-bestowing adaptations of any kind evolved, selection would have refined these adaptations to minimize their costs to the actor (Tooby and Cosmides 1996).

This positive externalities perspective suggests that a large class of altruistic behavior may have thus far gone largely unrecognized and uninvestigated. Indeed, adaptations to deliver or reap the benefits of positive externalities may be woven into the fabric of human friendship, but they remain uncharted territory and represent a fascinating direction for future research.

Mating Opportunities Within Friendships

Theory and evidence suggest that friends were likely instrumental in helping one another solve a variety of adaptive problems during human evolution, including one particularly close to the engine of natural selection: mating. Indeed, both same- and cross-sex friendships can promote the establishment and maintenance of romantic relationships (see e.g., Bleske and Buss 2000; Connolly et al. 1999; Feiring 1999; Sullivan 1953). Same-sex friends may have played a critical role in helping our ancestors solve adaptive problems related to selecting, attracting, and maintaining mates (Ackerman and Kenrick 2009; Lewis et al. 2011; Lewis et al. 2012), and accumulating evidence suggests that cross-sex friendships hold the potential for both indirectly and directly increasing mating opportunities. Cross-sex friendships provide members of the friendship dyad with information about how the other sex thinks or feels (Bleske and Buss 2000), and can help the sexes better understand each other's communicative style (Swain 1992). Cross-sex friendships sometimes involve casual sexual encounters between members of the dyad, and can even develop into committed long-term mateships.

Indeed, physical attraction within cross-sex friendships is common and often constitutes a significant component of such relationships (O'Meara 1989), and sexual activity in cross-sex friendships is not uncommon (Afifi and Faulkner 2000; Mongeau et al. 2003). The frequency of mating relations within cross-sex friendships, together with the close parallel between mate preferences and cross-sex friend preferences (see Lewis et al. 2011, 2012), suggests that cross-sex friendships may have evolved at least partly for direct mating purposes. We discuss this possibility in detail and present relevant findings later in this chapter.

The Benefits and Costs of Friendship

Friends provide one another with a bounty of benefits: they offer one another food and other resources, help each other solve problems, provide assistance navigating social hierarchies, and even help solve adaptive problems in the domain of mating. Along with these benefits, however, friendships carry the potential costs of

competition and rivalry. Friends may inflict costs on one another by competing for access to the same valuable resources, including the same high-quality mates. Their conflicting goals may lead them to interfere with each other's strategies and obstruct each other's path to achieving their objectives, a phenomenon known as *strategic interference* (Buss 1989; Haselton et al. 2005).

An evolutionary approach to friendship emphasizes the beneficial exchanges that characterize such relationships, but simultaneously points to their potential to impose considerable costs on both parties. The particular profile of costs and benefits differs from friendship to friendship, but also differs markedly from cross-sex to same-sex friendships. Same-sex friendships, for instance, may be hampered by the costs of intrasexual competition for status or mates, whereas cross-sex friendships rarely face this problem. Cross-sex friendships sometimes hold latent potential for mating opportunities, whereas same-sex friendships typically lack this direct benefit. In the sections that follow, we consider the costs and benefits that characterize friendships. We discuss those that are common to same- and cross-sex friendships as well as those that are unique to each distinct friendship type.

Benefits

Same-Sex Friendship

Evolutionary research on friendship has yielded novel insights and fascinating findings about the instrumental role friends play in helping one another solve mating-related problems (Ackerman and Kenrick 2009; Lewis et al. 2011). Same-sex friendships provide both men and women with a bounty of benefits directly or indirectly related to mating: communication of sex-related topics between close friends, discussion and analysis of suitors' intentions, the exchange of mating advice, and ultimately, the facilitation of the acquisition of mates (Ackerman and Kenrick 2009; Bleske and Buss 2000; Lefkowitz et al. 2004; Rose 1985).

The link between mating and same-sex friendships leads to a nuanced set of evolutionary predictions about friend preferences. Consider the fact that mate preferences differ between the sexes (Buss and Schmitt 1993), and the well-established principle that the mate preferences of one sex drive competition between members of the other sex (Buss 1988; Trivers 1972). On the basis of these two considerations, we would expect individuals to place a premium on same-sex friends who possess attributes that are simultaneously (a) desirable to the opposite sex, and (b) directly or indirectly *transferable* to oneself. By choosing same-sex friends who possessed characteristics that are desirable to the opposite sex, ancestral individuals could have experienced beneficial spillover effects. Moreover, if these desirable traits were also transferable to oneself, the benefits would have been further amplified.

Consider the following example. Because men value physical attractiveness in their long-term mates more than do women (Buss 1989; Buss and Schmitt 1993; Li et al. 2002), women may have secured greater fitness-related benefits by forming

and maintaining friendships with physically attractive members of their own sex. In this way, less attractive women could have benefitted from the newfound proximity of eligible, high-quality males. This magnitude of this benefit would have been further amplified to the extent that physical attractiveness is a transferable resource— for instance, if befriending an attractive same-sex other helps an individual improve her own physical attractiveness through fitness or beauty-related advice.

Similarly, because women value men who command economic resources, we should expect men to have a strong preference for same-sex friends with resources (Vigil 2007). That is, an evolutionary perspective on same-sex friendship predicts that men will be inclined to befriend other men who are in control of such resources, as these friends would have been valuable in helping to enhance one's mating opportunities. Moreover, economic resources represent a highly *transferable* desirable attribute, so men may derive especially large benefits from befriending individuals who are both wealthy and generous.

Lewis and colleagues (2011) found support for these predictions. This research team employed a budget allocation task in which men and women designed their ideal same-sex friends by allocating "friend dollars" to six categories of traits (e.g. Economic Resource Status, Physical Attractiveness, Personality). As predicted, men placed greater value on characteristics in same-sex friends related to status elevation and resource acquisition. Research in this area is just beginning, but these results provide preliminary support for the idea that humans value characteristics in same-sex friends that would have facilitated the solution of sex-specific adaptive problems in ancestral environments. As we might expect, this valuation appears to be amplified when the traits in question are directly or indirectly transferable to oneself.

Cross-Sex Friendship

Cross-sex friendships also carry great fitness benefits, but they differ in nature from those associated with same-sex friendship. Cross-sex friends can offer benefits that same-sex friends cannot provide. For example, consider the pronounced human sexual dimorphism in muscle mass and upper body strength (Lassek and Gaulin 2008; Lassek and Gaulin 2009). This sex difference in physical strength suggests that on average, ancestral women would have derived the benefits of much more effective physical protection by befriending a physically formidable man rather than another woman.

Direct mating opportunities represent another important class of benefits uniquely afforded by cross-sex friends. Indeed, the reported benefits of cross-sex friendship (Bleske and Buss 2000) correspond closely to the attributes that men and women desire in mates (Buss and Schmitt 1993). This correspondence between mate preferences and the benefits of cross-sex friendship suggests that the psychological mechanisms that motivate cross-sex friendship may be at least partially underpinned by men's and women's evolved mating strategies.

Sexual strategies theory (Buss and Schmitt 1993) provides a principled theoretical framework for making *a priori* predictions about sex differences and similarities in men and women's mating strategies. Men and women are predicted to have similar mate preferences in those domains in which they faced the same adaptive problems, and divergent mate preferences in those domains in which they faced different adaptive problems (e.g. internal fertilization and gestation, paternity uncertainty, age-related fertility decline, etc.). For instance, both men and women place a premium on long-term mates who are kind, cooperative, and trustworthy (Buss 2003). However, sex differences in adaptive problems have led to sex differences in mate preferences: men and women differentially prioritize characteristics such as resource acquisition potential and physical attractiveness (Buss and Schmitt 1993).

Cross-sex friend preferences follow strikingly similar sex-differentiated patterns. For example, men show a stronger preference than women for physically attractive cross-sex friends, whereas women exhibit a stronger desire for cross-sex friends who are successful at acquiring economic resources and are able to provide protection through physical strength and athleticism (Lewis et al. 2011). This striking overlap between cross-sex friend preferences and mate preferences hints at the tantalizing possibility that the initiation and maintenance of cross-sex friendships may involve the activation of mating mechanisms.

If mating psychology plays a part in cross-sex friendship, then we should be able to detect the signature of mating activation in cross-sex friend preferences. Specific predictions follow from this *mating activation hypothesis* in cross-sex friendships (Lewis et al. 2012). The mating activation hypothesis predicts that individual differences that influence the costs and benefits of directing mating effort toward cross-sex friends should predict cross-sex friend preferences (Lewis et al. 2012).

One such individual difference variable is sociosexual orientation. Sociosexual orientation describes an individual's attitudinal, cognitive, and behavioral inclination toward uncommitted sex (Penke and Asendorpf 2008; Simpson and Gangestad 1991). Reasoning that individuals with an "unrestricted" sociosexual orientation—a greater proclivity for engaging in uncommitted sexual relations—would derive greater net benefits from pursuing a mating strategy with cross-sex friends, Lewis and colleagues (2012) predicted that the degree of similarity between cross-sex friend preferences and mate preferences would be directly linked to individuals' sociosexual orientation. This prediction was confirmed for both sexes. Among both men and women, an unrestricted sociosexual orientation predicted the prioritization of cross-sex friends' physical attractiveness, and among women only, an unrestricted sociosexual orientation predicted the prioritization of physical prowess in their male friends (Lewis et al. 2012). This striking parallel with mate preferences suggests that unrestricted individuals prefer cross-sex friends who possess precisely those characteristics desired in mates. These findings contribute to the growing body of friendship literature by indicating that cross-sex friendship formation may be partly underlain by the activation of mating psychology. Moreover, cross-sex friend preferences may partly depend on individual difference variables that influence the costs and benefits of engaging in mating behavior with cross-sex friends.

Research suggests that many of the benefits of cross-sex friendships are enduring across the lifespan. This is true, for example, of companionship, emotional or financial support, advice, understanding the perspectives of the opposite sex, and fun and laughter (Bleske-Rechek et al. 2012). However, future research is needed to understand how cross-sex friendships change as individuals age, and how the benefits of cross-sex friendship differ across life stages, including with reproductive maturity and marital or mated status. Little is known specifically about the cross-sex friendships of middle-aged adults, for example (Monsour 2002), but preliminary investigations in this area suggest that the benefits of cross-sex friendships do shift across the lifespan. For example, older adults are more likely to cite enhanced confidence and improved self-esteem as important benefits of cross-sex friendships (Bleske-Rechek et al. 2012).

Costs

Same-Sex Friendship

Same-sex friends help each other navigate the exigencies of life. However, both men and women perceive same-sex friendship as carrying the potential for costly intrasexual rivalry (Bleske and Buss 2001). Despite the various benefits that same-sex friends receive from each other (e.g. companionship, status enhancement, access to a larger pool of mates; Bleske and Buss 2000; Lewis et al. 2011; Rose 1985), same-sex friends also experience competition with one another in the pursuit of high-quality mates (Bleske and Buss 2000; Bleske and Shackelford 2001; Buss 2003). Intrasexual competition and rivalry in same-sex friendships may even be influential enough to elicit feelings of betrayal (Shackelford and Buss 1996) and result in the dissolution of friendships (Bleske and Shackelford 2001).

Cross-Sex Friendship

Cross-sex friendships can impose tremendous costs as well. Cross-sex friendships can suffer from unwanted sexual attraction (DeSouza et al. 1992), and unwanted sexual overtures can result in tension, awkwardness, and harassment (Browne 2006). Some people feel that their cross-sex friends misinterpret their friendliness as romantic or sexual interest (Elsesser and Peplau 2006), and while cross-sex friendships are linked to mating-related benefits for some individuals, sexual attraction is seen as a challenge between close cross-sex friends (Halatsis and Christakis 2009). Importantly, sexual attraction is more often nominated as a cost than as a benefit of cross-sex friendships (Bleske-Rechek et al. 2012).

These costs are especially problematic for women in cross-sex friendships. Because men have a strong desire to gain sexual access to women, derive greater

fitness benefits from casual sexual liaisons (Buss 1994), and perceive sexual access to be a greater benefit of cross-sex friendship than do women (Bleske and Buss 2000), men may initiate unwanted sexual advances toward their cross-sex friends. Men experience greater physical attraction toward their cross-sex friends than do women (Kaplan and Keys 1997; Bleske-Rechek et al. 2012), are more likely than women to endorse the statement "there was a time when I wanted to be more than just friends with [my closest cross-sex friend]", and are more likely to initiate a cross-sex friendship with the hope of it developing into a romance (Kaplan and Keys 1997). Men's mating cognition is also influenced by a bias to interpret friendly female greetings as sexual interest, and to infer sexual intent where there is none (the *male sexual overperception bias*, Haselton and Buss 2000; Haselton and Nettle 2006; Abbey 1982; Abbey and Melby 1986). Research suggests that this male cognitive bias extends into men's cross-sex friendships (Bleske-Rechek et al. 2012).

From an evolutionary perspective, it can be very costly for a woman to remain in a cross-sex friendship in which she is the target of unwanted sexual advances. Women who find themselves in such situations may suffer severe emotional, energetic, and reproductive costs. Moreover, a close friendship with a sexually interested male can jeopardize a woman's chances of finding a mate who is assured of her fidelity and willing to invest in and commit to her (Buss 1994). For women who are already mated, close cross-sex friendships may inspire suspicion and jealousy from one's mate. This can have a detrimental impact both on the relationship and on the woman's safety, as men's sexual jealousy in particular is a powerful predictor of such costly outcomes as spousal abuse, intimate partner violence, and uxoricide (Buss 2005; Daly et al. 1982; Wilson and Daly 1992, 1996, 1998).

Women certainly suffer the brunt of the sexual costs of cross-sex friendships, but men also report incurring costs in this domain. Men are more likely than women to report that their cross-sex friends have led them on sexually (Bleske-Rechek and Buss 2001)—an outcome that may be attributable to the frequent asymmetry in sexual interest between men and women coupled with the male sexual overperception bias. Men and women alike also perceive attraction in cross-sex friendships as burdensome, and as a potential threat to their long-term mateships (Bleske-Rechek et al. 2012).

Some of the costs of cross-sex friendship are constant across the lifespan, whereas others differ across life stages, partly as a function of changes in age and marital status. Many of the cost categories nominated by individuals in cross-sex friendships are shared across age categories. These include sexual attraction and interactions that are deemed to be stressful or emotionally draining (Bleske-Rechek et al. 2012). Before reaching sexual maturity, however, females perceive their cross-sex friendships to be less significant (Lempers and Clark-Lempers 1993). The spike in the importance of cross-sex friendships after reproductive maturity may heighten both the costs and the benefits of such relationships for women.

At later life stages, the costs of cross-sex friendships such as "takes time away from my family life" and "my romantic partner gets jealous of our friendship" are nominated at higher frequencies (Bleske-Rechek et al. 2012). Married individuals also have less contact with and confide less in their cross-sex friends, and the

number of cross-sex friends that women maintain decreases with age (Booth and Hess 1974). An evolutionary perspective suggests that cross-sex friendship likely poses different adaptive challenges as a function of an individual's life history phase, and that human friendship psychology may be attuned to the changing nature of cross-sex friendship over the lifespan. This context-driven and lifespan-dependent nature of the costs of cross-sex friendship remains a relatively uninvestigated area of scholarship, and an exciting avenue for future research.

Friendships and Maximizing Happiness

Friendship quality is predictive of happiness across age groups and cultures (Brannan et al. 2013; Chan and Lee 2006; Demir et al. 2013; Holder and Coleman 2009; Hussong 2000). However, because the members of a friendship dyad frequently have conflicting goals, such relationships often result in the intentional or unintentional obstruction of one another's goals. This strategic interference (Buss 1989) underscores the potential for intrasexual and intersexual competition in human friendship, and highlights the unfortunate fact that friendships can often lead to negative experiences such as conflict (Hartup et al. 1988; Laursen 1995), rivalry (Berndt 2002), and even betrayal (Shackelford and Buss 1996).

We think that an evolutionary perspective can shed unique light on how humans may be able to reap the benefits of friendships while simultaneously minimizing the costs such relationships impose. Future research would profit from an investigation of the specific costs and benefits of friendship that affect overall happiness, but at present it seems safe to infer that the costs inherent in friendships have a negative impact on the relationship and resultant happiness levels. In this section, we share evolutionarily inspired ideas for enhancing friendships and maximizing their happiness yield.

Close meaningful friendships are often hampered by the costs that such dyadic relationships can impose. But what if these costs were absent? Might it be possible, for example, for an individual's friendships to be free of intrasexual rivalry and sexual deception? Research suggests that friendships that cross sexual orientation may be unique in this regard (Grigoriou 2004; Hopcke and Rafaty 1999). Specifically, friendships between heterosexual women and homosexual men may enable the beneficial exchange of mating-related benefits without the potential for the typical costs that plague heterosexual same- and cross-sex friendships (Russell et al. 2013).

This friendship type is distinct from other friendships, because heterosexual women and homosexual men are neither rivals in the mating domain nor potential romantic partners. In the absence of intrasexual mating rivalry and concealed mating motivations, these friendships are often marked by a level of trust and support not found in other types of friendship (Grigoriou 2004; Hopcke and Rafaty 1999; Malone 1980). It is heartening to find that friendships free of these costs are associated with such positive relationship outcomes. In this light, we suggest strategies that individuals can follow in order to increase the benefits and happiness they can

draw from their friendships while simultaneously minimizing the costs of competition, deception, and strategic interference.

The Banker's Paradox and Becoming Irreplaceable

Just as banks prefer to lend money to people with minimal credit risk, and are least likely to provide loans to those who are most in need, we might expect humans to be (paradoxically) least likely to invest in individuals in their hour of greatest need—when they are sick, have poor prospects, or otherwise appear unlikely to be able to return the favor in the future. The *banker's paradox* describes this social dilemma: it is profitable to invest in others who are in good condition and are able to return benefits, and to discount the needs of those who are in poor condition and least likely to be able to repay the actor in the future. This unfortunate payoff matrix would have led our ancestors to avoid precisely those who required the most help. The consequence of this logic is that the ruthless currency of selection would have favored psychological mechanisms that led individuals to desert each other during times of dire need. In short, the banker's paradox predicts that people may be least likely to befriend or help those who are poor credit risks—those that show the greatest signs of urgent need (Tooby and Cosmides 1996).

One key solution to this problem may be for individuals to strive to become *irreplaceable* and indispensable to their friends (Tooby and Cosmides 1996). Tooby and Cosmides (1996) illustrate several strategies by which an individual might become irreplaceable. For example, one can promote a reputation that highlights one's unique or exceptional attributes, cultivate specialized skills possessed by no one else within one's social group, demonstrate one's unwavering loyalty, or avoid social groups in which one's unique attributes are not valued. Cultivating a unique set of skills or benefits that nobody else in one's in-group possesses may be critical to the solution of the banker's paradox, as it dramatically lowers the likelihood of desertion in times of vulnerability and despair (Tooby and Cosmides 1996).

Developing Close Friendships

An effective strategy for maximizing happiness in friendships may be to invest in deep, close friendships. Individuals who succeed in establishing a deep bond with a friend may be much more likely to receive critical aid during times of need. Tooby and Cosmides (1996) argue this position cogently, distinguishing between true friends and fair-weather friends. The adaptive problem of distinguishing your true friends from your fair-weather friends is not an easy one, as fair-weather friends appear deceptively similar to true friends when circumstances are favorable and conditions are auspicious. Unfavorable circumstances in which one friend is in need of help that would be costly for the other friend to deliver provide the litmus test for

friendships. Because these harsh times would have been critical for ancestral humans' survival and reproduction, we should expect selection to have fashioned psychological mechanisms that are acutely sensitive to the behavior that one's friends exhibit under such circumstances.

Distinguishing between fair-weather friends and true friends is a critical issue that has received very little attention in the literature, and represents an exciting direction for future friendship research. In line with Tooby and Cosmides (1996), we suggest that cultivating true friendships, those characterized by deep engagement, is of paramount importance in deriving deep satisfaction from social relationships. Individuals who emphasize these close friendships can put themselves in a position to reap the security, support, and happiness that these kinds of friendships are uniquely positioned to deliver. In our view, individuals who wish to maximize the benefits and happiness they can harvest from their friendships should allocate time and effort to developing close, deep friendships over superficial friend networks, and should invest seriously in establishing bonds of loyalty and trust.

Managing Intrasexual Rivalry

Managing intrasexual rivalry is likely a critical path to minimizing the costs of same-sex friendships. Humans display a rich array of strategies designed to compete with same-sex others for desirable mates, resources, and positions in the status hierarchy. These tactics include competitor derogation and manipulation (Buss and Dedden 1990; Fisher and Cox 2010), exaggerated self-enhancement, and spreading rumors about intrasexual rivals (Buss and Dedden 1990). Unfortunately, these same strategies sometimes manifest themselves within same-sex friendships.

Individuals in same-sex friendships stand to benefit greatly by communicating and promoting positive reciprocity in order to prevent unnecessary competition and rivalry (Axelrod 1984). Such reciprocity facilitates cooperative strategies and inhibits the activation of competitive or exploitative strategies, partly because it results in positive feedback loops of cooperation and lowers the payoff of exploitative strategies (Axelrod 1984). If competitive strategies are successfully inhibited, goal obstruction and strategic interference are kept to a minimum, and the resultant stress and negative emotions are consequently minimized as well.

Cooperative exchange in friendships can be further facilitated if each party insists on no more than equity (Axelrod 1984). Because greed, trying to extract more than one's fair share of benefits, is a downfall in many relationships, setting equity as a goal may help prevent the negative emotions that arise in response to one partner taking more than his fair share of the pair's pooled resources. This type of strategy may be helpful in minimizing conflict and feelings of betrayal or injustice. In this way, employing the principles of fairness and reciprocity that have been integral to the evolution of human cooperativeness will likely prove to be instrumental in minimizing conflict and strife and promoting harmony in friendships.

Minimizing Envy

Minimizing envy may be key for enjoying greater happiness in friendships, as envy is inversely related to happiness (Belk 1984). Same-sex friends can vastly reduce the potential for envy by developing friendships with others who are similar in values, interests, personality, and, importantly, mate value. A growing body of research suggests that women who develop friendships with more attractive same-sex friends experience greater envy and feel the need to derogate their attractive friends (Bleske-Rechek and Lighthall 2010; Fisher and Cox 2009). Although women may be able to gain otherwise unattainable access to men of higher mate value by consorting with more attractive same-sex friends, they may also be undermining their chances for a close, deep friendship if envy is inextricably intertwined with such benefits. Developing same-sex friendships with individuals of similar mate value, on the other hand, may diminish this envy and result in greater emotional closeness between friends as well as increased happiness.

The optimal balance in such tradeoffs will depend on the characteristics of the individual and of the context. Awareness of these issues, however, is sure to be an important building block for mindfully managing these costs. It may also serve individuals well to identify the benefits that they can offer to their same-sex friends and that their friends can offer them, and then to develop courses of action for delivering and attaining these benefits without inducing envy (Hill and Buss 2008).

Allowing for Communication

Fostering open communication is another key strategy for reducing strife and maximizing happiness in friendships. This strategy may be especially useful in cross-sex friendships, in which the different parties often have different intentions and expectations.

Although some cross-sex friendships are characterized by mutual sexual attraction, men and women differ in their motivations for forming cross-sex friendships (Bisson and Levine 2009; Bell 1981; Lehmiller et al. 2011). Men are typically more strongly motivated by sexual desire in their formation of these relationships, and perceive having sex with their female friends as a benefit of cross-sex friendships (Bleske and Buss 2000). Women, on the other hand, are more strongly motivated by the desire for an emotional connection in their friends with benefits relationships (Lehmiller et al. 2011). This suggests that men and women likely evaluate the benefits of friends with benefits relationships differently. The common asymmetry in sexual desire, together with men and women's conflicting priorities in such relationships, hold great potential for disappointment and discord. It is perhaps not surprising, then, that some friends who develop a sexual relationship report positive effects on their friendship quality, whereas others report considerable relational damage as a result of their sexual liaison (Afifi and Faulkner 2000).

Investigating these sex-differentiated mating motivations will be important for enhancing our understanding of how friends with benefits relationships can improve relational quality (Afifi and Faulkner 2000) and contribute to each party's happiness, as well as the unique obstacles and risks such relationships can pose. Afifi and Faulkner (2000) suggest that individuals who engage in friends with benefits relationships should emphasize an open flow of communication in which both parties discuss the meaning of sexual activity within their relationship. Doing so will likely reduce friction and make the experience more pleasurable, increasing happiness and satisfaction within the dyad (Cooper and Stoltenberg 1987). If friends do not take an active role in resolving discrepant desires and expectations through open communication, the friendship may suffer from dishonesty, inaccurate inference of the other sex's intentions, and even deception designed to fulfill one's own desires (Haselton et al. 2005). On the other hand, by promoting an open flow of communication about each individual's hopes and expectations for the friendship, cross-sex friends can reduce a major source of conflict in their relationships and enjoy the benefits of a close friendship without the adverse impact of uncertainty, strategic interference, and outright deception.

Conclusions

An evolutionary perspective provides a functional approach to the science of friendship and our understanding of its link to happiness. This perspective draws attention to the unique profiles of costs and benefits that characterize each type of friendship, and serves as a useful heuristic for investigating areas as diverse as friendship initiation, conflict and discord, relationship dissolution, the predictors of individual differences in friendships, and the activation of mating mechanisms in cross-sex friendships. Evolutionary research on friendship is still in its nascent stages, but the available literature already offers valuable insight into the costs and benefits of friendship, the functions of each friendship type, and individual differences within these friendships.

In light of the various fitness-benefits and challenges that characterize different types of friendship, an evolutionary perspective may be instructive in suggesting ways for individuals to reduce discord and enhance the happiness yield of their friendships. For example, because of the pervasive problems associated with competing for the same mates, same-sex friendships between heterosexual women or heterosexual men may be maligned by deception and distrust. Awareness of these costs is the first step in mitigating them and moving toward a happier friendship. However, individuals in those fortunate cross-sex friendships that are not burdened by unrequited sexual interest (such as friendships between heterosexual women and gay men; Russell et al. 2013) report feeling particularly fulfilled (Hopcke and Rafaty 1999). A particularly fruitful direction for future research may be to explore how people can mitigate or even completely eschew the costs of friendship (e.g.,

mating competition in same-sex friendships and deceptive sexual intent in cross-sex friendships) in the service of promoting relationship harmony and happiness.

Exploring friendship from an evolutionary perspective enables us to bring a principled theoretical paradigm to bear on these issues, and to situate friendship within a larger framework of biological conflict and cooperation. Evolutionary approaches to friendship simultaneously hold great promise for the basic science of social relationships, as well as the practical objective of enhancing our close relationships. Evolutionarily inspired strategies for maximizing the happiness yield of friendships are tailored to specific friendship types, but the common thread underlying all of these recommendations is increased awareness. A critical first step to deepening and enhancing friendships is an awareness of the potential problems that such relationships can pose. One of the great virtues of an evolutionary approach to friendship is that it can arm us with this knowledge, which represents the first step to reducing the strife and discord in our relationships. In so doing, we can clear the path to an enhanced sense of joy and satisfaction in our friendships. It is our hope that this chapter makes a modest contribution to these goals, and helps researchers progress toward a comprehensive science of this fundamental social relationship and its relation to human happiness.

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Friendship and Happiness: A Bidirectional Dynamic Process

Lina María Saldarriaga, William M. Bukowski and Carolina Greco

Friendship and the Top 40

Imagine you have just spent a few hours listening to the radio or browsing song libraries in iTunes or Spotify. You have tuned into a variety of stations with diverse musical styles (e.g., rock, pop, classic pop, R&B, country and Western, Latin). One aspect of the many songs you hear will be the frequent use of friendship as one of their central themes. Songs about friendship appear on nearly every channel regardless of its genre—even if you discount songs about love and romance. A quick search of iTunes' or Spotify, libraries for songs with the word "friend" in the title will produce impressively long lists that include hundreds of songs. The number of songs with titles that refer to friends seems to go on forever. The nearly infinite length of these lists, however, is not their most impressive feature, but rather it is the breadth and diversity of their content. Songs about friendship are found in every genre and across a range of top performers such as Amy Winehouse (*Best Friend*), Norah Jones (*Everybody Needs a Friend*), Bob Dylan (*He Was A Friend Of Mine*), Queen (*You're My Best Friend*), Hannah Montana (*True Friend*), Tim McGraw (*My Best Friend*), Mariah Carey (*Anytime You Need A Friend*), 50 Cent (*Best Friend*), Lily Allen (*Friend Of Mine*), Elton John (*Funeral For A Friend*), Carole King (*You've Got A Friend*), Eric Clapton (*Hello Old Friend*), Lyle Lovett (*Old Friend*), Paul Simon and Art Garfunkel (*Old Friends*), the Beatles (*With A Little Help From My Friends*) and, of course, Randy Newman (*You've Got A Friend in Me*). The lyrics and sweet melody of Newman's award winning song (from the film *Toy Story*) continue to touch the hearts of young and old moviegoers. Even in-

L. M. Saldarriaga (✉)
Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, Colombia
e-mail: lsaldarr@uniandes.edu.co

W. M. Bukowski
Concordia University, Montréal, Québec

C. Greco
Instituto de Ciencias Humanas, Sociales y Ambientales, Conicet, Mendoza, Argentina

strumental songs can evoke the spirit of friendship (e.g., Dave Brubeck's *Goodbye Old Friend*). Although some references to friendship are metaphorical or ironic, for the most part friendship is presented as a positive albeit potentially complex aspect of human experience.

In addition to the vast diversity of musical styles of these songs, they also vary in what they emphasize about friendship. Nearly all of these songs attend, in one way or another, to the many features and the value and multiple effects of friendship. They do so by pointing to the very positive provisions that friendship offers and to the sense of loss that can occur when a friendship ends, especially when abruptly. Some songs invoke friendship's most cherished features such as closeness, loyalty, and fun. Many refer to the complexities and difficulties of friendship, especially when intertwined with romance or when one has been disappointed by a friend. The nearly universal nature of these songs tell us that the desire for friendship may be a basic form of human longing and that friendship can add fun, help, satisfaction and meaning to our lives.

The purpose of our discussion of these songs is to illustrate the belief in Western culture of the role of friendship in human happiness. This musical introduction serves as a prelude to the central theme of the chapter, specifically that friendship and happiness are interrelated especially in the lives of children. It is not often that one can draw parallels between the lyrics of pop songs and the words of ancient and modern philosophers and social scientists. In the case of friendship, however, an overlap can be found without difficulty. We show that the content of today's popular music bear a similarity to the ideas about friendship and well-being presented in the works of ancient philosophers and modern social scientists. In spite of enormous social and cultural changes in the past 2300 years in how people spend their daily lives, in the means by which they communicate with each other, the thoughts about friendship expressed by ancient philosophers such as Aristotle (2004) provide a powerful background for our current understanding of friendship and its role in the lives of young people. In this chapter we discuss this link between friendship and happiness.

The General Perspective

Friendships are believed to contribute to the well-being of individuals. A recurrent finding from empirical research is evidence of the significant association between friendship and happiness. Indeed, evidence from a myriad of studies indicate that having friends and close peer experiences are important predictors of happiness (Argyle 2001; Brannan et al. 2013; Demir and Weitekamp 2007; Demir et al. 2011, 2013; Hussong 2000; Wilson 1967). Likewise, other studies that have examined the relation between these two variables have shown that happy individuals tend to have stronger and more intimate social relationships (Diener and Seligman 2002; Lyubomirsky et al. 2005a).

In an effort to understand the dynamics of the association between friendship and happiness, several researchers have developed models that use both personal characteristics and social experiences as contributing mechanisms. This association can be understood from a philosophical and a psychological perspective. Using several theoretical models and evidence from empirical studies, we conceptualize the association between happiness and friendship as a dynamic process. The chapter will begin with several philosophical considerations regarding the Aristotelian perspective on happiness and well-being. Following this, the concept of friendship and its relation to well-being will be examined. Next, models and theories explaining happiness will be discussed both from philosophical and psychological perspectives. Finally, evidence from different studies relating friendship and happiness will be discussed in order to analyze the dynamic processes inherent in this association.

What the Ancients Told Us

Nowhere are ideas about friendship and happiness more tightly intermingled than in Aristotle's thoughts about goodness. For Aristotle (2004), goodness and friendship are inextricably interrelated. To understand why they cannot be separated from each other, one needs to first understand how Aristotle defined goodness. Two interrelated aspects of his view of friendship are important. The first is that he dismisses the idea that goodness is a particular thing or entity such as a type of behavior. The second point complements the first. Instead of seeing goodness in a material manner, Aristotle (2004) saw it as a transcendent phenomenon that should be conceived of as an action-based process aimed at an outcome. It was not, as Nussbaum (1986) has shown, the outcome per se that mattered but it was the process by which that outcome was achieved. Aristotle (2004) referred to this process and the outcome that it was intended to accomplish as *eudaimonia*. This term has been translated to mean "human flourishing" (Cooper 1980; Nussbaum 1986). McIntyre (1981) has stated that according to Aristotle, goodness could be a property of any action whose purpose was to promote this outcome, specifically an enduring sense of well-being which would promote the full expression of one's potential.

Another important component to Aristotle's thinking was his idea about the association between virtue and goodness. Aristotle (2004) defined virtue as a quality of a person that promotes goodness. By this he meant that virtue was referred to a person's capacity to promote *eudaimonia*. According to Aristotle (2004), virtue is necessary for goodness and it is the result of goodness. In this way, goodness comes from virtue and virtue is developed by engaging in goodness. So, in order to promote *eudaimonia* one needs to be virtuous (e.g., to care about being truthful) and by promoting *eudaimonia*, one become a more virtuous person (e.g., one sees more clearly the value of being a truthful person).

These concepts of goodness, *eudaimonia,* and virtue are at the center of Aristotle's theory of friendship. Aristotle (2004) argued that friendship was multidimensional in the sense that it could offer three kinds of benefits. These benefits are

utility, pleasure, or goodness. A utility friendship is centered on the useful material benefits that one may receive from one's friend. For example, a school-age child might choose to be someone's friend because the other person will help with homework, or because the other has a lot of fun games to play or maybe the friend can offer particular forms of help with challenging tasks. The point of these friendships is the accrual of material benefits. One type of utility friendship could be a friendship in which one basks in the limelight of the friend's high status in the peer group. The bottom line is that in a utility friendship one receives functional or instrumental benefits from the friend.

In contrast, the pleasure friendship provides a sense of satisfaction or enjoyment. Its benefits are affective rather than material. In a pleasure friendship one experiences positive affect as a consequence of being with the friend. Interactions in this form of friendship can be fun as they provide amusement, stimulation, and satisfy curiosity and desires. A person takes part in a pleasure friendship because of the enjoyment it brings. The critical distinction between a utility friendship and a pleasure friendship is the form of the benefit. Whereas the benefits of the utility friendship are tangible, the benefits of the pleasure friendship are immaterial. What they provide is experiential rather than functional.

In spite of their differences, utility friendships and pleasure friendships share several basic characteristics. Two of these are most important. The first shared feature is that they are self-focused. Each of them is defined according to what the friend does for the person. The friendship is valued because of the advantages—either material or pleasure based—that it offers. The second common characteristic is that, strictly speaking or by definition, the benefits are short lived. The material and experiential benefits that accrue from the friendship are immediate rather than enduring. There may be a hope or an expectation that the pleasure they give or that the material rewards they provide may extend over time but their effects could be relatively brief. Presumably the effects of utility friendships and pleasure friendships recede when the interaction with the friend ends.

The goodness dimension of friendship differs from the other two dimensions in many important respects. Most importantly, it focuses on the other and on the self. Aristotle (2004) believed that goodness friendships were those that fostered *eudaimonia* in one's friend and in oneself. He believed that goodness friendships were the highest form of friendship as they fostered the full flourishing of both persons in the friendship and, by extension, made each individual more virtuous. For Aristotle (2004), a goodness friendship required an understanding and appreciation of the other person's needs and a recognition of the "goodness" in the other (i.e., how this person could flourish in all respects). These friendships needed to be characterized by virtues (e.g., kindness, care, benevolence, justice) that would be manifested toward the friend and toward the self. In these ways friendship serves, or perhaps requires, a function of goodness for both the friend and the self. A goodness friendship promotes a full flourishing in the friends and in the self.

The three aspects of friendship are not mutually exclusive. A goodness friendship can also provide pleasure and material benefits. Nevertheless, these basic features have very different consequences for the effects of a friendship. Aristotle

pointed out that goodness was the aspect of friendship that is most essential for a friendship's longevity. Whereas pleasure and utility were likely to be tied to specific circumstances, goodness is likely to transcend specific contexts. More importantly, via its promotion of *eudaimonia* a goodness friendship is more likely to have a long-standing effect on the well-being of the friend and on the person.

In summary, Aristotle (2004) believed that the true goal of friendship is goodness. From his point of view, goodness and friendship were intertwined. Scholarly interpretations of Aristotle's theory of friendship and ethics point out that for Aristotle, the goal of friendship was to "do well for someone for his own sake not out of concern for oneself" (Cooper 1980, p. 302). In this way, friendship was core component to Aristotle's model of ethics and ethics were a core feature of friendship. Accordingly, friendship was a key to satisfaction and well-being across the life span.

Friendship and the Peer Relations Model

Broadly defined, friendships are egalitarian interactions in which a person is attracted to another who is attracted in return. These interactions, which are voluntary, are characterized by the creation of strong emotional bonds that facilitate the accomplishment of developmental and socio-emotional goals (Hinde 1997; Newcomb and Bagwell 1998). According to Hartup and Stevens (1997), friendships encompass a number of expectations regarding the way friends are supposed to behave. For instance, friends are expected to spend more time with each other, and to have a positive "cost-benefit" relationship. Friends are also expected to be available to offer help, companionship, security and emotional support (Bukowski et al. 1998; Hartup and Stevens 1997; Hinde 1997). Researchers have explained that friendship expectations vary across the lifespan. In young children, friendships are characterized by the presence of common activities and concrete reciprocities. In that sense, expectations for intimacy, security or help are not essential during this developmental stage. In school-aged children, the nature of the friendship changes with the development of new cognitive and emotional skills. This allows children to spend more time with their friends sharing their interests and beliefs, and also to engage in more intimate interactions. In older individuals, friendships are viewed as relations where one can receive support from a significant other; in other words, the friend is perceived as a dependable and understanding person (Hartup 1989; Hartup and Stevens 1997).

According to Berndt (1998, 2002), friendships have two dimensions that define the nature of the relationship. The first one, called the features dimension, is defined as the positive and negative attributes of a particular relationship. For instance, intimacy, conflict and closeness would be examples of the features of a friendship. Friendships also have qualities, which are related to the concept of features but have an important difference: they are not affectively neutral. Qualities represent the degree of excellence in a particular characteristic or feature of a friendship. For instance, a dyad of friends can have a relationship characterized by high levels of companionship and security (good quality of friendship), while another dyad can

have a relationship characterized by high levels of conflict (poor friendship quality). These features and qualities are considered to be key elements for understanding the nature and dynamic of the friendship relationship.

A substantial body of research has examined the elements that comprise friendship quality (Berndt 2002; Bukowski et al. 1994; Ladd et al. 1996). One of the most important theoretical frameworks that has been developed for this purpose was proposed by Bukowski et al. (1994). According to these authors, children's perceptions of company, conflict, help, closeness and security are the essential dimensions that define the quality of a friendship.

Within this framework, conflict and companionship are unidimensional constructs, while security, closeness and help are comprised by several sub-dimensions. The concept of *companionship* is defined by Bukowski et al. (1994) as a composite of behaviors that involve close associations and company. These behaviors represent opportunities for interactions with other peers which are central elements of the friendship experience. The concept of *help* consists of two components: aid and protection. The former refers to the help and assistance that friends give to each other, while the latter refers to the protective role that friends have in difficult situations (Bukowski et al. 1994).

The concept of *security* is derived from two essential aspects of the relation that individuals have with their friends: the perceptions that the relationship is secure and stable in spite of conflicts, and that it is possible to trust and rely on friends. The concept of *closeness* refers to one's perception that they are appreciated and loved by their friends. Finally, the concept of *conflict* is related to the notion that, in order to have positive and constructive friendships, individuals need to learn the necessary skills to resolve problems in an assertive manner, manage disagreements with friends, and be able to reconcile after a fight.

The Significance of Friendships on Individual Development The concepts mentioned above are important for understanding the developmental significance of friendships, not only because they characterize the nature of this relationship, but also because they reveal the significance that friendship has across the lifespan. According to Newcomb and Bagwell (1998), there are two traditional models in the friendship literature that explain the importance of this relationship on human development. In the first model, positive peer relations are conceived as fundamental interactions that promote the acquisition of social, emotional and cognitive competencies. When people lack these positive peer interactions, this condition has a direct causal effect in the development of maladjustment. For instance, this model would propose that individuals who have negative interactions with their peers, and who are also at risk (e.g., withdrawn, isolated, rejected, or aggressive persons), will lack opportunities for socialization and positive social learning. In this way, these persons will experience a gap in their social learning process that will lead to poor developmental outcomes and disadvantages in terms of their psychological adjustment and socialization opportunities.

The second model developed by Newcomb and Bagwell (1998) proposes that the link between peer relations and developmental outcomes is not direct. From this

perspective, individual differences in the predisposition for maladjustment facilitate behavioral deviance, and therefore, this abnormal social behavior leads to a poor developmental outcome, which in turn could incidentally lead to peer rejection. In this sense, this model would not consider poor peer relations as the direct cause that determines maladjustment.

In a recent effort to develop new models for explaining the importance of friendships, Vitaro et al. (2009) proposed two perspectives from which the impact of this type of relationships can be explained. The first one, known as the social bonds perspective, proposes that friendships contribute to the emotional, cognitive and social development of individuals via two mechanisms: participation in a friendship and friendship characteristics. The second perspective proposes that the characteristics of the friends and the interactions that individuals have with these friends are the ones that have an impact on a person's development. The former perspective places a greater emphasis on the protective role of friendship, while the latter examines in more depth the negative impact that friends can have on a person's adjustment. It is worth mentioning that the authors consider that these two perspectives are not mutually exclusive, rather they propose that together they give a complete and comprehensive view of the impact that friendships have on human development.

Based on the models reviewed above, one can argue that it is important to have friendships—for at least three fundamental reasons. First, because friendships promote well-being at different stages of development by giving individuals the sense that they are loved, understood and appreciated. Second, because friends provide support to one another when facing developmental challenges (Hartup and Stevens 1997), and finally, this relationship provides a context in which individuals can make improvements in aspects of their lives where they have experienced problems in previous developmental stages. That is, friendships have the potential to serve as corrective or enhancing interactions, since they help individuals overcome earlier adjustment difficulties or develop to their full potential.

The Positive Effects of Friendships Beyond the benefits of positive standing among the group on an individual's psychosocial adjustment, evidence exists to demonstrate that people benefit from positive interactions with friends. Specifically, studies have shown that the support received in friendships can minimize an important number of adjustment difficulties and also promote positive development.

Several studies conducted with children and early adolescents have shown evidence of the corrective effect of friendships. For instance, in a study conducted by Hodges et al. (1997) with 230 seventh graders, it was found that friendship served an important function in the protection against aggressors. Results showed that internalizing problems, externalizing problems and physical weakness were more predictive of peer victimization for children who had few friends or who had friends that were incapable of fulfilling a protective function, compared with those who had a lot of friends or were more accepted by their peers. The authors suggested that this could be due to several reasons. First, aggressors could fear retaliation or exclusion from a victim's friends. Second, children who have friends are usually in the company of others, and therefore they are not salient as victimization targets. Finally,

the authors suggested that children who have friends may receive advice from them on how to solve conflicts or face threats of victimization.

Other investigations conducted by Pellegrini et al. (1999) and Hodges et al. (1997) have also shown that, for children who have friends, the behavioural characteristics of the friends moderate the relation between behavioural risk and victimization. That is, when the child's friends had characteristics that made them unlikely to give protection to the child—for example when they were physically weak –the relation between behavioural risk and victimization was greater than when the friends were more capable of providing protection and defense. Moreover, in cases where the child's friends displayed externalizing behaviors, the child's own problems were less predictive of victimization compared with those whose friends lacked externalizing problems. The authors suggested that friends who are prone to use externalizing behaviors may react on behalf of their friends and thereby serve a protective function.

In a study conducted by Adams et al. (2011), the protective effect of friendships was also examined. The goal of this study was to determine if when facing daily negative experiences (e.g. arguments with parents or peer or victimization) the presence of a best friend had a protective effect on the global self-worth and cortisol levels in a sample of 103 students from Grade 5 and 6. Five times per day during four consecutive days, students completed booklets in which they reported experiences that had occurred 20 min before giving a saliva sample. They also reported how they felt about themselves at that moment. When describing the experiences students rated their negativity level by answering the question "How did you feel about it?" using a scale that ranged from 1 (very positive) to 7 (very negative). Using multilevel modeling techniques researchers found that, overall, the presence of a best friend buffered the effect of the recent negative experiences both on children's general self-worth and cortisol levels. More specifically, results revealed that when a best friend was present during the event, children experienced less change in cortisol levels and in general self-worth as a function of the negativity of the experience. Conversely, in the cases in which the best friend was not present, individuals experienced an increase in their cortisol and also a decrease in their general self-worth due to the negativity of the experience (Adams et al. 2011). No effects were found for gender or friendship status. The findings from this study point out two elements that are relevant for understanding the relationship between friendship and well-being. On the one hand they provide more evidence suggesting that friends could act as buffers against adjustment difficulties, and therefore, that they can contribute to well-being. On the other hand, these findings help us understand the specific circumstances in which friendships protect children from maladjustment and contribute to their well-being. By identifying these situations, it's possible to inform intervention programs that aim to improve children's well-being and quality of life.

Other types of studies have shown evidence that friendships not only have the potential to protect individuals from maladjustment, but that they have the power to promote positive development. In a study conducted by Demir and Weitekamp (2007) with 423 male and female young adults, the relationship between friendship and happiness was explored. Specifically, the study evaluated the predictive

effect that friendship quality had on happiness while controlling for the effect of personality traits. Results revealed that friendship quality was a positive predictor of happiness above and beyond the influence of personality and number of friends. Moreover, evidence showed that only two friendship features—companionship and self-validation—were predictive of happiness while controlling for gender and personality. Stated another way, this study revealed that all other features that were part of the friendship quality construct were related to happiness to varying degrees but only companionship and self-validation emerged as the most important features that were predictive of happiness.

In a study conducted by Goswami (2012) the relative effect that six different areas of children's social relationships had on their subjective well-being was assessed. In a sample of 4673 children in secondary schools across England, measures of the relationships that children had with their family, friends and adults in their neighborhoods were collected. Children also reported information on their subjective well-being, their experiences of being bullied and the experiences of being treated unfairly by adults. Results revealed that, in general, all six types of social relationships contributed significantly to explaining variation in children's subjective well-being, even after controlling for the effect of the other types of relationships in the model. Together, the six types of social interactions explained the 42.2 % of the variance in well-being. Specifically, this study found that in order of importance, family, positive interactions with friends and with neighborhood adults were the variable that contributed positively to children's subjective well-being. On the other hand, negative aspects of friendship relations, the experience of being bullied and being treated unfairly by adults were found to have a negative impact on young people's well-being. The evidence presented in this study also illustrates the positive effect that friendships have on the well-being of individuals. Positive affect in friendships was found to make the second highest contribution on children's well-being. According to Goswami (2012), the affective bonds that children form with their peers can become a significant source for promoting positive development and emotional growth.

Evidence from studies conducted with an older population also illustrates the positive impact of friendships. These studies have revealed that, later in life, having contact with friends helps persons reduce their feelings of loneliness and increase their feelings of usefulness. Moreover, participation in friendships helps individuals integrate into a social network, gives them social support, improves their socialization skills and promotes their well-being in general (Martina and Stevens 2006). In a study that examined the effect of the participation in a friendship enrichment program among older woman (X=63 years), the evidence gathered supported the notion of this positive impact of friendship. Results showed that the friendship enrichment program was successful at improving the quantity and quality of the participants' friendships, and that this change was in turn related to an improvement in the subjective well-being of the participants (Martina and Stevens 2006).

Taken together, these findings suggest that having friends and having a high quality relationship are two variables related to an individual's well-being. Friendships seem to greatly contribute to the enhancement of people's happiness and sub-

jective well-being, and furthermore, evidence also suggests that happy persons tend to be part of fulfilling friendships (Diener et al. 2005; Seligman 2002; Stephanou and Balkamou 2011). In that sense, it seems plausible to propose the existence of a bidirectional link that defines the nature of the relationship between friendship and well-being: Friendships contribute to the development of a global life satisfaction, which in turn is related to the development of positive and fulfilling social experiences.

Happiness and the Positive Psychology Model

Research on happiness and well-being has thrived considerably since the development of the Positive Psychology model (Seligman 1999). Happiness can be defined as a state of pleasant physical and spiritual contentment. In everyday life, people usually refer to happiness as an experience that involves "good feelings," "achievement of goals," "spending time with friends," "having fun," and "laughing." In line with Lazarus (2000), it may be said that happiness does not represent a single affective state, but rather a group of interrelated states characterized by a common subject and variations on that subject. It shares certain features with other positive emotions such as amusement, elation and gladness. Happiness arises in contexts considered to be familiar and safe. This emotion occasionally emerges when progress is made towards the achievement of a goal.

Most research on happiness and well-being is framed within two broad philosophical traditions. From a psychological perspective, Keyes et al. (2002) have proposed to use the term "subjective well-being" to refer to concepts derived from the hedonic tradition, and the term "psychological well-being" to refer to concepts derived from the *eudaimonic* tradition.

The Hedonic Perspective From the hedonic perspective, happiness is associated with living a pleasurable life. The tradition of hedonic well-being has focused on the study of affections and satisfaction with life. According to Díaz et al. (2006), these two aspects of subjective well-being are within different temporal frameworks: personal satisfaction is a global judgment, a long term evaluation of a person's life (Pavot and Diener 2013), whereas happiness is a balance between positive and negative affections triggering an immediate experience.

Diener et al. (1999) report that external factors, such as sociodemographic characteristics, are only responsible for a small part of the variance that accounts for the construct of subjective well-being or happiness. Similarly, Lyubomirsky et al. (2005b), propose that there are three factors that could predict an individual's level of happiness: genetic predisposition, certain life circumstances (e.g., life events) and what they refer to as intentional activities. These authors propose that the genetic factor explains close to 50 % of the variance of the construct, while life events explain only 10 %, and intentional activities explain 40 %.

According to Lyubomirsky et al. intentional activities play a particularly important role in the subjective experience of well-being. These authors define such activities as an individual's will to accomplish a goal and sustain it over time—not merely to the effort of beginning an activity. Such actions have been associated with concepts such as *the flow experience* (Csikszentmihalyi 1998) or the process of cultivation of a *virtue* (Fredrickson 2001). Demir and Weitekamp (2007) propose that intentional activities are not only voluntary actions on the part of the individual, but that they also involve the social sphere and interpersonal relations. In that sense, it seems plausible to propose that friendships may be included in this intentional activities dimension since they are a dyadic experience that includes certain cognitive and emotional responses.

A growing body of research has identified different factors that are associated with, or predict, happiness in children, adolescents, and adults (Argyle 2001; Caunt et al. 2012; Chaplin 2009; Cheng and Furnham 2004; Diener et al. 1999; Eloff 2008; Furnham and Cheng 2000; Greco and Ison in press; Huebner and Diener 2008; Holder and Coleman 2009; Lu and Hu 2005; Primasari and Yuniarti 2012; Ratelle et al. 2013; Sheldon and Tan 2007; Sotgio et al. 2011; and Uusitalo-Malmivaara 2012). For instance, Chaplin (2009) conducted a study using an open-ended task in order to explore children's sources of happiness. Results revealed five possible sources: people and pets, achievements, material things, hobbies and sports. The "people" domain consisted mainly of people including family, friends and other social influences such as teachers, coaches, and neighbors. Social relationships, however, were more closely related to children's experience of happiness than any other category or socio-demographic variable. In line with these findings, a qualitative study by Greco and Ison (in press) concerning the sources of happiness for Argentinian children revealed that family relationships, and especially the feelings of being loved by their father, mother, grandparents, aunts and uncles, played a key role in children's perception of their own happiness. Children also mentioned that their friendships were an important source of contentment. Specifically, they reported feeling happy when they were invited by their friends to participate in fun activities. Spending time with friends and engaging in enjoyable activities with these friends were sources of happiness. Primasari and Yuniarti (2012) also conducted a qualitative study that aimed to identify the sources of happiness for teenagers. Using open ended questions, these researchers found three components for adolescent's happiness: (a) Having positive relationships with others (i.e. families, friends) and experiencing events related to love, (b) having feelings of self-fulfillment (i.e. achievements and money) and (c) having a close relationship with God (i.e. spiritual). Specifically, when examining the relationship between friendship and happiness, these researchers proposed that relationships with friends could contribute to adolescents' happiness by giving teenagers the sense that they are loved, that they can share time with friends and that they can receive support in times of adversity. In other words, friendships help adolescents feel loved, appreciated and understood, and therefore contribute to their general sense of happiness. In a similar study conducted with an adult sample, Caunt et al. (2012) aimed to explore individual's perceptions related to long lasting happiness. Using content analysis techniques, results revealed that

individuals considered social relationships such family ties, friendships and romantic relationships as the most important sources of happiness. In addition, evidence from this study revealed that being healthy and having personal and social values were also considered as sources of joy, even though they were not as frequently mentioned as having positive social relationships.

Taken together, the qualitative studies described above show that having a friend and being part of positive friendship experiences can become a source of happiness for individuals at different stages of development. Studies that have used a quantitative approach have also been able to illustrate this pattern of association. In a study conducted by Brannan et al. (2013) the relationship between perceived social support and the subjective well-being of individuals was examined. Specifically, the study aimed to determine if perceived social support given by family and friends predicted different components of subjective well-being (i.e. positive and negative affect, satisfaction with life). This study was conducted in a sample of college students from three different countries: Iran, Jordan, and the United States. These authors found differences in the patterns of association between these variables. First, evidence revealed that perceived support from the family significantly predicted all aspects of well-being in the three countries. Though, the same pattern was not found for friendship. For the Iranian sample, support from friends was found to be positively associated with every component of happiness. However, this variable was not found to be a significant predictor of happiness when it was considered simultaneously with family support. For the US sample, friend support predicted higher levels of positive mood and satisfaction with life, and lower levels of negative mood. For Jordan, support received from friends only predicted higher levels of positive moods. Overall, in every sample friendship support was significantly related to components of happiness in every culture. Differences emerged only when the family and friend support (and gender) were studied in regressions. In terms of the relationship between friendship and well-being these findings highlight two important aspects: first, friends can contribute to well-being and mood, second that this influence can vary significantly as a function of cultural components and social contexts.

In another study conducted by Demir et al. (2007) with 280 college students the role that best and close friendships have in happiness was examined. Overall, researchers found that the quality of the relationship with the best friend and the first close friend was associated with happiness. They also found that only best friendship quality was a positive significant predictor of happiness. Best friendship conflict, close friendship quality and close friendship conflict were not found to be predictors of happiness. Further analysis also revealed an interesting interaction between the effect of best and close friendships. Specifically, it was found that individuals were happier when they experienced high quality first close friendships in combination with a high quality best friendship. Stated another way, this finding reveals that individuals are likely to experience higher levels of happiness when they have high quality relationships with the best and first close friend (Demir et al. 2007).

The studies mentioned above shed light on the association between happiness and positive social interactions in several ways (Aknin et al. 2012; Chaplin 2009; Cheng and Furnham 2004; Holder and Coleman 2008; Eloff 2008; Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter 2003; Greco and Ison in press). The qualitative studies show that the experience of having a friend or being part of a friendship is an important source of happiness and joy. The relationships that are constructed with significant others such as family members or friends are important factors that contribute to happiness and subjective well-being. These studies also suggest that families can contribute to happiness, by being a source of support and affection; and friends also seem to contribute to an individual's well-being by providing companionship, support and help. The studies developed from a quantitative perspective also support these studies by showing a significant relationship between friendship and happiness. However, these studies allow investigators to detect that not in all contexts this association is present and that not all aspects of friendships are related to well-being and happiness.

The Eudaimonic Perspective As mentioned previously, the *eudaimonic* perspective proposes that happiness is the ultimate goal and purpose of human existence. From this perspective, happiness is not a state that may be achieved or lost overnight. That is, it is more than a measure of one's satisfaction with life at a given moment, rather it is a measure of how well you feel you have lived up to your full potential as a human being (Aristotle 2004). Another important aspect of Aristotle's theory of happiness is its connection with the concept of virtue. He posits that the most important factor for reaching happiness is to be morally virtuous. Developing a good character requires a strong effort of will to do the right thing, even in difficult situations. He further claims that being virtuous is not a passive state, but quite the opposite: one should strive to have the greatest possible number of virtues acts and act accordingly (Aristotle 2004).

In line with the concept of eudaimonia, Ryff (1989) distinguishes six dimensions of psychological well-being: Self-acceptance, positive relationships with others, autonomy, environmental mastery, purpose in life and personal growth. All dimensions are required in order for an individual to achieve personal growth and positive functioning. Moreover, the individual requires determination to develop to his/her potential, with the purpose of growing as a person and making the most of one's abilities.

Another way in which the eudaimonic perspective is related to the concept of friendship is described by Bukowski and Sippola (1996). These authors argued that friendship and morality are concepts that fundamentally interrelated. From this perspective friendship is defined by moral parameters and it serves as a context in which morality is achieved. They argue that morality is largely interpersonal construct in the sense that moral issues frequently arise in friendships and that an important part of our experiences with others are characterized by of moral struggles, involving issues of loyalty, trust, commitment and honesty (Bukowski and Sippola 1996). Finally, it is important to clarify that empirical research connecting these di-

mensions with friendship is scarce. It is mainly philosophical and theoretical studies that deal with these issues.

In conclusion, both from a hedonic and eudemonic perspective, it is difficult to imagine how complete personal satisfaction, happiness or sense of well-being could be achieved in isolation from one's interpersonal relations (Blanco and Díaz 2005). The findings from several studies from hedonic perspective consider interpersonal relationships as a robust and reliable correlate of happiness (Argyle 2001; Caunt et al. 2012; Brannan et al. 2013; Myers and Diener 1995).

Friendship and Happiness: The Nature of a Bidirectional Relationship

A growing body of research exploring the relationship between friendship and happiness has found that these two variables are related in several ways. Diener and Seligman (2002) conducted a study comparing the characteristics of very happy people with average and unhappy people. Results showed that very happy people tended to be highly sociable with stronger romantic and social relationships as compared to the less happy groups. Happy individuals were characterized as extroverted, more agreeable and less neurotic, and scored lower on several psychopathology scales of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, when compared with the less happy groups Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter (2003) also found evidence that provides insight into the association between happiness and interpersonal relationships. Using the *Experience Sampling Method*, they examined environmental factors as well as the behaviors and practices that were associated with happiness in a sample of 828 students from 6th, 8th, 10th, 12th grades. Results showed that school activities ranked low in terms of making students happy, while social/leisure activities were rated highly. Companionship was shown to be especially important in this study; being alone earned the lowest score in terms of the students' happiness level, while being with friends was considered to be the greatest source of happiness.

Holder and Coleman (2009) also evaluated the association between social bonds and happiness in school-age children, with a sample of 432 9-to-12-year-old children and their parents. Children's happiness was assessed using a composite of self-rating scales, parent ratings and the happiness and satisfaction subscale from the Piers-Harris Children's Self Concept Scale. Children's social relations were also assessed with items from the Piers-Harris scale. Variance in children's happiness was partially accounted for by positive social interaction involving the family (e.g., the parents having reasonable expectations of the child; children feeling that they are important members of their family) and friends (e.g., parents reporting that their children visit with friends more frequently). Negative social interactions also explained a portion of the variance in children's happiness, including negative relations with peers (e.g., children feeling left out) and behaving badly toward others (e.g., children admitting often being mean to others and causing trouble for their family).

Finally, a study conducted by Demir and Özdemir (2010) supports previous findings regarding the association between friendship and happiness. This study was based on Deci and Ryan's (2000) *self-determination theory*. Self-determination theory is a macro-theory of human motivation, personality development and well-being that focuses on volitional or self-determined behavior and the social and cultural conditions that promote it (Deci and Ryan 2008). The basic needs framework examines the link between people's satisfaction of their psychological needs and their well-being. According to this theory, relatedness, autonomy and competence are three universal and fundamental human needs (Deci and Ryan 2000). Using structural equation modeling, the authors tested two models to investigate the possible relations between the satisfaction of psychological needs, friendship quality and happiness. The first model proposed that the satisfaction of basic psychological needs mediated the relationship between friendship quality and happiness. The alternative model considered that friendship quality was the mediator of the relationship between needs satisfaction and happiness. After conducting the analyses, researchers found support for the first model (i.e., the mediating role of basic psychological needs satisfaction), but not for the second model. The alternative model (i.e., friendship quality as mediator) did not fit the data as well as the original model. Demir and Özdemir (2010) argued that one reason why friendship quality could be directly related to happiness is because friendship experiences provide a context where basic needs can be satisfied. The study concludes that it is important to further explore possible mediating and moderating variables that could play a key role in the association between friendship and happiness.

A Final Remark on the Study of Friendship and Happiness When it comes to examining the bidirectional bond that exist between friendship and happiness it is convenient to bear in mind some methodological and theoretical issues. The first one is related to the need to explain the differential characteristics and dynamics of this relationship when the quantitative or the qualitative aspects of friendships are analyzed. For instance, it is plausible to expect different effects when one examines the relationship between friendship quality and happiness compared to the relationship between number of friends and happiness. Indeed, recent reviews have reported differences in the strength of the association between these two variables when analyzing each of these aspects; correlations in the $r=0.10$–0.20 range have been reported in studies that considered the quantitative aspects of friendship, while correlations ranging from $r=0.20$–0.50 have been reported in studies that examined aspects such as friendship quality and friendship satisfaction (Demir et al. 2013). As presented in the previous sections, an important number of studies have focused in understanding the effect that different friendship features and characteristics have on happiness (e.g. the effect that one's best friend has as a source of happiness, the buffering effect of friendships in negative experiences, the effect that the number of friends has on happiness, the effect that positive social interactions have on happiness, etc.) (Adams et al. 2011; Demir et al. 2013; Demir and Weitekamp 2007; Goswami 2012; Martina and Stevens 2006). And in spite of the enlightening evidence that these studies have produced, further work is needed in order to examine the

differential effects that these dimensions, qualities, features or meanings of friendship have on the well-being of individuals. More specifically, this gap in this area of research calls for studies that shed light on the differential corrective or protective effect that these elements have on various forms of maladjustment. Also, further work is needed to isolate and explain the mechanisms by which different aspects of positive personal experiences and peer interactions become effective protective and corrective factors.

As Demir et al. (2013) have suggested, another aspect that needs to be considered when studying the effect of friendship on happiness is the possible moderating or mediating role that variables such as gender, age, or culture could have. For instance, friendship has been found to be a crucial source of happiness and well-being during different stages of development. While in preadolescence or adolescence, having friends could contribute to happiness by providing individuals with a sense of acceptance and belongingness, having friends in later stages of development could contribute to happiness by giving persons a source of enjoyment, socializing, and an opportunity to talk about "good old times" (Pinquart and Sörensen 2000). Depending on the developmental tasks associated with each stage, individuals could place more or less emphasis on the importance of friendship as a source of happiness; and therefore the effect that this bond has could vary greatly. Likewise, it would be important to take into account the influence that cultural variables have in the association between friendship and happiness. As Lu and Shih (1997) suggest, cultural values are a major force that determines the meaning of happiness, and therefore defines the subjective experiences of individuals. Important differences have been found across these studies conducted in Western and Asian cultures (see Lu 1995, 1999; Uchida et al. 2004). For instance, in studies that have examined the sources of happiness among Chinese in Taiwan, researchers found evidence of the unique features of the Chinese conception of happiness that comprise elements such as harmony of interpersonal relationships and contentment with life compared to other cultures (Lu and Shih 1997).

Finally, it is also worth mentioning that there is an important need to incorporate the use of mixed-method approaches (qualitative and quantitative) into the study of this bidirectional relationship. The use of these techniques could help researchers shed light on other possible mechanisms and factors that could explain the role played by friendships on happiness and well-being (e.g. money, free time, etc.) (see Chaplin 2009; Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter 2003; Primasari and Yuniarti 2012).

Conclusion

Overall, the models and findings presented in this chapter support the idea that social interactions and positive personal experiences are associated. More specifically, we illustrated the different ways in which friendship relationships and happiness have been found to be connected. Meaningful social interactions, such as friendships, have been found to not only have the potential to protect individuals

who are at risk to develop adjustment difficulties, but also to promote positive personal and social development. Findings also revealed that there are other variables (e.g. personality traits, cultural factors, environmental factors, etc.) that could be intervening in the ways in which friendship and happiness are associated.

The study of the dynamic relationship between happiness and friendship is relevant given the many challenges that individuals must overcome during the lifespan. Research focused on the study of happiness and friendship could provide useful information on how to face those developmental challenges and also, on possible intervention strategies aimed to prevent maladjustment and promote a healthy and positive development.

One of the reasons why studying the relationship between friendship and happiness is important is that many educational efforts aimed at preventing socio-emotional difficulties in children and youth are based on findings derived from studies that do not take into account this relationship (see Miao et al. 2013). Based on the evidence presented above, a basic assumption for new prevention and educational programs could be that by improving the quality of children's social interactions, aspects like the general well-being of children are also benefited. In this sense, the evidence presented in this chapter gives practitioners and researchers specific valuable information that inform prevention strategies that could be implemented in classrooms. For example, it would be very important for practitioners who work in the classroom to know that children who feel more connected to their peers tend to be happier and have more positive social experiences.

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Part II
Friendship and Happiness Across the Lifespan: Reviews of the Literature

Children's Friendships and Positive Well-Being

Mark D. Holder and Ben Coleman

The association between children's well-being and their friendships is important. The establishment of intimate friendships begins in childhood and comprises an important landmark in development. During childhood, children typically experience a transition where they spend less time with their parents and more time with their peers (Collins and Russell 1991). It is during childhood that stable friendships develop, and these friendships are less transient and superficial than those experienced at younger ages (Edwards et al. 2006). Children's capacities for high levels of trust and self-disclosure develop in their friendships. Children who enjoy good friendships also experience benefits such as better capacity to cope with stress (Berndt and Keefe 1995), a lower incidence of being victimized (McDonald et al. 2010) and being rejected by peers (Schwartz et al. 2000), greater self-esteem and prosocial behaviors, and less loneliness and depression (Burk and Laursen 2005; Hartup and Stevens 1999).

Importantly, children's friendships have an enduring impact. The choices children make and the experiences they have within their friendships play an important role in children learning the rules that govern social interactions. This learning impacts their future development (Howes and Aikins 2002). Children who experience friendships have higher self-worth as young adults (Bagwell et al. 1998) and enjoy better success in academics and better adjustment to school (Ladd 1990; Wentzel et al. 2004). In contrast, children with few friends and weak peer relations are more likely to experience difficulties in life status, perceived competence and mental health as adults (Bagwell et al. 1998; Cowen et al. 1973). If we are to develop a more comprehensive understanding of normative development and well-being in children, then we need to research children's friendships.

M. D. Holder (✉)
Department of Psychology, I.K.B.S.A.S., University of British Columbia,
3333 University Way, Kelowna, BC V1V 1V7, Canada
e-mail: mark.holder@ubc.ca

B. Coleman
Okanagan College, Kalamalka Campus, 7000 College Way (D332),
V1B 2N5 Vernon, BC, Canada

Given that friendships are consistently found to be associated with children's current well-being and their later development, the present chapter has four main goals. First, we provide a brief summary of the literature on the links between positive well-being and social relationships, particularly friendships. Second, we summarize work on the assessment of happiness, life satisfaction and friendships in children. Third, we discuss the literature on children's happiness and their friendships, including their friendships with imaginary companions. Finally, we use our literature review to provide guidance for future research on children's happiness and friendships.

Over the last century a substantial amount of literature on the qualities and characteristics of children's friendships has been gathered (Berndt 2004; Bukowski et al. 2011; Ladd 2009; Rubin et al. 2011). Much of the early research focused on understanding how children selected their friends (e.g., child-peer proximity) and identifying features of children's friendships. More recently, the emphasis on selection and identification has given way to examining friendships in terms of interpersonal interactions with peer groups (Bukowski et al. 2011; Ladd 2009) and assessing the negative and positive aspects of friendships (Berndt 2004; Goswami 2009; Holder and Coleman 2009). The negative aspects (e.g., conflict, distress and rejection) are inclined to decrease children's well-being (e.g., increase depression and loneliness) and adjustment (e.g., poor academic performance), which may extend into adulthood (Bukowski et al. 2011; Ladd 2009). The positive aspects of friendships tend to promote stable psychological functioning (e.g., increased security and affection) and adjustment (e.g., aiding sociability, and conflict resolution) in children (Berndt 2004; Bukowski et al. 2011; Majors 2012; Moore and Keyes 2003; Rubin et al. 2011).

Good friendships provide benefits such as companionship, sociability, feelings of self-worth, emotional security, affection, and well-being (Berndt 2004; Rubin et al. 2011). Research has described children's well-being in terms of factors that prevent negative, or promote positive, behaviors (Moore and Keyes 2003). Both positive well-being and good friendships promote self-worth, sociability, character, and affection. The extant literature supports the idea that positive aspects of friendship serve to complement children's happiness, while negative aspects diminish children's happiness (Goswami 2012; Holder and Coleman 2009).

Understanding the role of friendships in children's well-being is limited because most of the research on relationships and well-being is based on samples drawn from populations of adults and adolescents, not children. As an illustration of this, in the book "Understanding Peer Influence in Children and Adolescents", the words "adolescent" and "adolescence" appear in five of the eleven chapter titles but "Child", "Children" and "Childhood" do not appear in any (Prinstein and Dodge 2008). In fact, though the index lists six entries for "adolescent peer influence" there are no entries for "children". Studies of adolescents indicate that their well-being is associated with social relationships. For example, 16–18 year olds who report high levels of success in their social relationships, including in their relationships with peers, also report the highest levels of life satisfaction (Proctor et al. 2010).

However, research on the relationship between positive well-being and personal relationships including friendships is incomplete in preadolescent children.

This incompleteness stems in part from a bias in research to focus on ill-being. Many fields of research including psychology, psychiatry, neuroscience and medicine, emphasize the diagnosis and treatment of illness and dysfunction. This emphasis has clearly paid dividends as it has led to evidence-based tools and interventions to identify and help people with physical and psychological challenges. However, a newly emerging field, positive psychology, purports that the elimination of illness and dysfunction does not exhaust the goals of science. Positive psychology recognizes the value in diagnosis and treatment of negative conditions, but contends that research should also focus on understanding and promoting strengths and positive subjective well-being.

There is a consensus in positive psychology that our interpersonal relationships are strongly linked to our positive well-being. Though the direction of this link is not firmly established, it has been assumed that relationships promote our well-being. Correlational research is consistent with this assumption. For example, in all but one of the seventeen countries investigated, people who were married were happier even after sociodemographic variables were controlled (Stack and Eshelman 1998). Research has demonstrated that romantic relationships of high quality contribute to happiness over and above the influence of personality (Demir 2008), and married individuals report higher levels of happiness than those who are single (never married), divorced, separated (Dush et al. 2008; Proulx et al. 2007) or cohabiting (Stack and Eshleman 1998).

The links between well-being and social relationships include relationships with friends. For example, best friends are predictive of an individual's happiness (Demir et al. 2007). Individual studies report that the number of friends one has (Burt 1987; Lee and Ishii-Kuntz 1987; Requena 1995), and the quality of one's friendships (Demir et al. 2013) are positively correlated with one's happiness, with the correlations involving quality typically being higher. A meta-analysis similarly concluded that the quantity and quality of friendships are associated with subjective well-being with the associations involving quality being stronger, though this study focused on the elderly (Pinquart and Sörenson 2000).

It is possible that friendships contribute to happiness because friendships help ensure that there is an environment where people can feel safe while engaging in their preferred behaviors and where people perceive that their basic psychological needs are being met. Evolutionary-based theories suggest that positive social relationships should contribute to well-being; we are motivated throughout life by a drive to develop and maintain enduring, positive, social relationships (Baumeister and Leary 1995).

The contribution of friendships to children's well-being may differ from adolescents' and adults' because children are at a different level of development with respect to emotions, temperament/personality, and maturity than older populations. At least three factors support the contention that the relationship between well-being and friendships may differ for children. First, preadolescent children do not typically have well-developed romantic relationships. The impact of friendships on

well-being for adults and adolescents is influenced by their romantic relationships. For example, for those people who do not have a romantic partner, the quality of one's relationship with their best friend and mother predicts their happiness (Demir 2010). However, friendships are no longer predictive of happiness for those people who do have a romantic partner. Given that children do not typically experience the romantic relationships that adolescents and adults experience, perhaps the importance of friendships to their well-being is magnified. Second, children often have relationships with imaginary companions. These "friendships" may influence children's well-being in unique ways. Third, throughout the life cycle, friendship can be qualitatively different in terms of significance and purpose as well as the distinct social needs they fulfill (see Majors 2012).

In addition to the possibility that the contribution of friendships to happiness may differ between adults, adolescents and children, their contribution may differ for children of different ages. For example, as children age their friendships become increasingly important as a source of happiness and their relationships with their parents become less important (Thoilliez 2011). Additionally, the components of friendships (instrumental support, positive affect, trust and fairness) mature and change as children age. However, even young children recognize that friendships are valuable contributors to their happiness, and that being alone, even when with toys, is not a strong source of happiness (Thoilliez 2011).

However, the causal direction of the relationship between friendships and well-being may not be limited to friendships causing increases in well-being. Research suggests that the link between well-being and social relationships is bidirectional; high levels of well-being can be both the cause and consequence of the quality and quantity of our social relationships. Empirical work supports the idea that well-being can promote social relationships For example, high levels of present happiness predict a greater likelihood of future marriage (and a lower likelihood of divorce), and predict a larger circle of friends and increased social support (Lyubomirsky et al. 2005a; Lyubomirsky et al. 2005b). Well-being may also promote friendships. Both longitudinal and experimental designs indicate that positive well-being increases social interactions (Lyubomirsky et al. 2005a).

The current chapter reviews the extant literature on the relations between children's well-being and aspects of their social relationships. We begin by reviewing how researchers have assessed happiness, life satisfaction and social relationships in children. We then focus on the connection between well-being and aspects of children's friendships including popularity and imaginary friends. Synthesizing this literature allowed us to identify future considerations and directions for research on children's friendships and well-being.

Assessment of Well-Being and Friendships in Children

Though even very young children recognize and understand emotions including happiness (Harter 1982), research on children's happiness is limited (Holder 2012). The development of valid and sensitive measures of positive well-being has

progressed more slowly in children than adults, and more slowly than measures of ill-being in children. This slower development may have contributed to the relatively few studies of children's positive well-being (Huebner and Diener 2008).

However, this slower development has been addressed with work on assessing life satisfaction (Huebner 1991, 1994), affect (Laurent et al. 1999), gratitude (Froh et al. 2011) and hope (Snyder et al. 1997) in children. One of the best examples of the successful development of psychometrically-sound measures of well-being in children is the assessment of life satisfaction. Assessing life satisfaction in children owes a debt to the seminal work of Diener et al. (1985) who developed The Satisfaction with Life Scale for adults. Using this scale as a starting point, unidimensional (Huebner 1991) and multidimensional (Huebner 1994) scales of life satisfaction have been developed. The unidimensional measure is comprised of items that are not specific to any single context whereas the multidimensional scale asks students to rate their life satisfaction in each of five contexts: family, friends, self, school and living environments.

Measuring well-being in children will certainly benefit from instruments designed to assess adults. For example, scales designed to assess gratitude in adults show a similar factor structure when used with children (Froh et al. 2011). However, these instruments may not all be well suited to assessing children. For example, different gratitude scales are well correlated for adolescents and adults, but not necessarily for children. Furthermore, negative affect and gratitude are correlated with adolescents and adult samples, but they are not strongly correlated with younger children. Additionally, not all items on adult gratitude scales appear to assess gratitude in children. As a result, though some scales seem to apply across a wide age range of children and adolescents (e.g., Children's Hope Scale; Snyder et al. 1997), other scales may not be valid with younger children (e.g., scales assessing gratitude).

Assessing well-being in children requires more than simply ensuring that the reading level of the measures is appropriate. During childhood there are significant and relevant individual differences in cognitive development (Berk 2007). As a result, some children's development of formal operations may be lagging resulting in them not possessing sufficient abstract thinking to allow them to engage in the self reflection required by the measures. As a result, scales to assess well-being might have to be developed specifically for children, and in addition to self-reports, parent-reports may be valuable.

To assess happiness in children, researchers have relied on a variety of measures including single item measures where the response options are more intuitively represented as faces ranging from sad to happy (Holder and Coleman 2009) and as a stair case where higher steps represent increased happiness (Jover and Thoilliez 2010). These scales are attractive because they are effective with children who have limited reading skills and with children from different cultures (Holder 2012). These single-item self-report measures can be effectively combined with multi-item measures designed for children (e.g., Piers-Harris Self Concept Scale for Children Second Edition) and adults (Subjective Happiness Scale) and parent reports, both in specific contexts (e.g., school and home) and overall. We are more confident in our

findings regarding children's relationships and well-being because the conclusions reached with each quantitative measure are similar (Holder and Coleman 2009). Furthermore, studies that rely on biographical data (children's story-telling about their own lives) also reach similar conclusions about the importance of friendships in children's happiness (Thoilliez 2011).

To assess aspects of friendships in children, many studies have developed their own scales. As a result, it may be challenging to compare the findings between studies. Huebner (1994) developed the Multidimensional Students' Life Scale which includes a friendship domain scale consisting of 9 items. This scale has proven valuable in investigating the relations between well-being and friendships in children. More recently, an additional item was added to this domain scale ("I feel safe with my friends") and this scale has been used successfully to assesses both the positive ("My friends are great") and the negative ("My friends are mean to me") aspects of children's friendships (Goswami 2012). However, whether studies use questionnaires to quantify aspects of children's friendships and their importance (Holder and Coleman 2009; Huebner 1994), or rely on more autobiographical stories (Thoilliez 2011), the findings all point to the important contribution of children's friendships to their happiness.

Personal Relationships and Well-Being

Friendship can be viewed as a mutual relationship that exists between two persons whose intentions are to help meet the physical and psychological needs of their partner. The quality of adult friendships appears to influence happiness, even beyond the influence of personality (Demir and Weitekamp 2007). Extraverted adolescents who were very happy were also more likely to have strong interpersonal relationships and rarely spent time alone (Cheng and Furnham 2001; Diener and Seligman 2002). The strength of the mutual companionship between friends may also influence happiness. Lyubomirsky et al. (2006) suggest that the positive feelings of closeness and satisfaction that exists between friends are important to personal happiness.

Friendships are also associated with the well-being of children. Positive engagement with a peer may teach children healthy ways to engage with others, to manage conflict, and to problem solve, thus allowing them to more effectively work through and maintain their interpersonal relationships (Newcomb and Bagwell 1995; Majors 2012). Positive social adjustments made with friends and peers in early and middle childhood are potentially beneficial to the developing child's academic performance (Ladd et al. 1996). However, the majority of empirical research examines the interpersonal relationships and well-being of adolescents and adults (e.g., Argyle 2001; Demir 2010; Demir and Özdemir 2010, Diener et al. 1995; Diener and Seligman 2002). More research is required to fully understand the relationships between friendships and positive and negative emotions during early and middle childhood.

To help address this gap in the literature, Holder and Coleman (2009) assessed 9–12 year old children and identified several factors related to friendship that are associated with children's well-being (i.e., number of friends and time spent with friends outside of school). Recently Goswami (2012) expanded on our research using a large sample ($n = 4673$) of children and young adolescents. He reported that of the six types of social relations assessed, the positive aspects of children's friendships were the second most closely associated with children's happiness (after relationships with family).

All dimensions of children's social relationships are not positive. Even happy children are likely to be exposed to conflict and distress within their relationships with family and friends. This conflict and distress plays a significant negative role in determining the well-being of adults and children (e.g., Ben-Ami and Baker 2012; Gerstein et al. 2009). A child's negative interactions with others during early and middle childhood may leave the child at greater risk for social maladjustments or mental illness in their later adolescence or adulthood (Bagwell et al. 1998; Majors 2012). Poor social interactions may also negatively impact children's happiness. Holder and Coleman (2009) examined the relationships between behaving badly towards others and children's happiness. They found that several undesirable social interactions between childhood peers (e.g., being mean to others, unpopular, picked on, and left out) were negatively correlated with children's happiness. Qualitative work is consistent with these findings in that it also shows that negative interactions with friends (e.g., rejection and disapproval) are recognized by children as eroding their happiness (Thoilliez 2011). Overall, these results suggest that negative social relationships have an adverse effect on children's happiness. Goswami (2012) reported similar findings in that negative relations with friends were associated with lower levels of well-being though this link was not as strong as with positive relations.

Research investigating the relationship between happiness and friendship in children has largely relied on correlational methods. The findings are consistent with the view that children's friendships can influence their happiness. This view is reflected in children's assessment of the contribution of friendships to their own happiness. Children, particularly those who are least happy, identify having more friends as a key factor in increasing their happiness (Uusitalo-Malmivaara 2012). Furthermore, using qualitative research methodology, Thoilliez (2011) found that after the family, friendships and peer relationships were identified by children as the most important contributors to their happiness. However, given the limits of correlational research, these results are also consistent with the perspective that happy children are more likely to engage in positive social relationships, which is consistent with research that suggests that happiness precedes desirable outcomes (e.g., Lyubomirsky et al. 2005a; Strayer 1980).

Family members are important to the learning and development of interpersonal relationships and friendships (Majors 2012; Mendelson and Aboud 1999). Theorists suggest that several basic components of social relationships (e.g., power, conflict, and quality) influence the development of healthy relations with others (Demir 2010; Furman and Buhrmester 1985; Wiggins 1979). These components are also

important to the development of social adjustment, respect, performance, communication, self-worth, nurturance, guidance, and psychological well-being (Furman and Buhrmester 1985; Ladd et al. 1996; O'Brien and Mosco 2012). For instance, the configuration of power within a friendship that exists between a child and their siblings and parents appears to have a significant role in the child's well-being (Furman and Buhrmester 1985). Children's relationships with their equals (i.e., with their peers and siblings) are associated with more power and greater well-being for these children, than their relationships with adult authority figures such as their parents or teachers (Furman and Buhrmester 1985). However, the power configuration for children in friendships with their siblings and peers can also contribute to more conflict, thus reducing happiness and increasing discordance within the friendship.

More friendships are indicative of greater popularity. However, research has not provided a clear consensus on the direction and strength of the association between popularity and well-being for either adults or children. For children, an increase in their own status relative to their peers is associated with higher levels of well-being (Ostberg 2003). Nevertheless, undergraduates were shown to be less happy if they placed a high value on popularity and personal image (Kasser and Ahuvia 2002). This suggests that *being* popular and *valuing* popularity are not the same and these dimensions, which are linked to friendships, could influence well-being in different directions.

Research has shown that popularity and happiness share similar correlates. For example, higher levels of either happiness or popularity are associated with lower levels of suicidal ideation in adolescents (Field et al. 2001), and bullying behavior in children (Slee 1993). In our own research, we found that several measures of children's happiness were only weakly positively correlated with popularity (Holder and Coleman 2008). Collectively, the data suggest that popularity contributes only modestly to children's happiness. Children seem to recognize this. When asked to choose from a list of 12 factors potentially related to their happiness, 12 year old children identified "Becoming a celebrity" as the least likely factor to increase their happiness (Uusitalo-Malmivaara 2012).

Children's friendships are not limited to actual friends but may include imagined or pretend friends as well. Many children have invisible friends. Some research suggests that by the time children reach the age of seven, approximately 37 % have an invisible friend (Taylor et al. 2004) and overall approximately 65 % of children have an imagined companion (Singer and Singer 1990; Taylor et al. 2004). However, other research suggests that the percentage is much less (26 %; Gleason and Hohmann 2006). Imaginary companions can include invisible friends as well as objects (e.g., a teddy bear) that are personified (Bouldin and Pratt 2001; Hoff 2005a, 2005b; Taylor et al. 1993). Invisible friends are similar to real friends in that they can be seen, heard and felt by the children (Taylor et al. 2009), and the activities that children share with their invisible friends are similar to real friendships including playing, arguing and joking (Taylor et al. 2009). Relationships with imaginary friends are long lasting (Partington and Grant 1984) and are viewed by children as at least as important as those with real friends (Mauro 1991). Imaginary friends may play important roles in helping children cope with a missing family member

(Ames and Learned 1946), and providing nurturance (Gleason 2002), sympathy and understanding (Vostrovsky 1895).

Having imaginary companions has benefits that may contribute to children's positive well-being. For example, imaginary friends may offer company to children who are lonely or are challenged in developing relationships with real friends (Manosevitz et al. 1973). Additionally, compared to children who do not have imaginary friends, those with imaginary friends are less shy (Mauro 1991) and experience less fear and anxiety in social situations (Singer and Singer 1981). Children with imaginary friends smile and laugh more during interpersonal relations (Singer and Singer 1981) which is consistent with the idea that imaginary friends contribute to well-being. At the very least, imaginary friends do not seem to impede the development of real friendships. Compared to children who do not have imaginary friends, children with imaginary friends have similar numbers of reciprocal real friendships (Manosevitz et al. 1973) and are equally likely to be identified as well liked by their peers (Gleason 2004). Furthermore, children with imaginary friends tend to show traits related to extraversion (i.e., they are outgoing and sociable; Taylor et al. 2009). Extraversion in adults is strongly associated with positive well-being (Steel et al. 2008), and temperament traits akin to extraversion are linked to happiness in children (Holder and Klassen 2010). Though children clearly seem to recognize that their imaginary friends are pretend (Taylor et al. 2009), imaginary friends provide very similar benefits to real friends in terms of social provisions (Gleason 2002).

Given that the benefits of imaginary friendships are similar to real friendships, research on the relation between well-being and friendship in children should assess imaginary relationships. Though we think that on balance imaginary friends are likely to contribute to children's well-being, the contribution may be mixed. Children report that they experience conflicts with their imaginary friends and can feel frightened by and angry with their imaginary friends (Taylor 1999).

Conclusion and Implications for Future Research

Through their research, positive psychologists have reached a consensus that social relationships, including the quality of one's friendships, are important contributors to well-being (e.g., Demir and Weitekamp 2007). Additionally, participation in activities that enhance well-being often includes a social dimension. For example playing on sports teams is associated with well-being and often involves creating and maintaining friendships (Hills and Argyle 1998), volunteering and belonging to a religious group are linked to well-being and social support (Arygyle 2001, Cohen 2002; Francis et al. 1998), and demonstrating kindness towards others can increase well-being and involves a social component (Otake et al. 2006). Given the established contribution of social relations to adults' and adolescents' well-being, it is predictable that early research has shown that social relationships are associated with children's happiness. As an example, children aged 9–12 years who frequently spent time with their friends were happier than children who did not (Holder and

Coleman 2008) and children consider more friends as a source of increased happiness (Jover and Thoilliez 2010).

Research on the association of social relationships to well-being is primarily based on samples drawn from adolescent and adult populations. To fully understand this association, children need to be studied as well. The factors that are important in the relations between children's friendships and happiness (e.g., quality, power, and conflict) are likely to vary with age. Furthermore, as we have discussed, the characteristics of friendships evolve throughout childhood. Given the value of research on friendships and happiness in children, we encourage researchers to consider the following suggestions in guiding their research.

First, the research methods need to be considered. For example, longitudinal studies are more likely to capture the significant factors related to children's well-being and friendships than cross-sectional studies. The extant literature is comprised largely of correlational studies. Thus the directionality of the links between children's happiness and friendships is unclear. Longitudinal work has suggested that it may be more plausible to consider that well-being causes positive social outcomes (Adams 1988). An impressive meta-analyses suggested that longitudinal and experimental work demonstrates that happiness may cause positive social relationships (Lyubomirsky et al. 2005a). However, much of this work samples from populations of adults and the elderly; longitudinal and experimental research exploring the direction of the relationship between children's friendships and well-being is sparse.

Second, the measures used to assess happiness need to be improved. Many measures of happiness are appropriate for adults and adolescents, and the mere adaptation of these measures to children may be inadequate. Positive psychologists have not agreed on the best measure of happiness or well-being. Researchers frequently rely on subjective measures to assess the happiness of adults, adolescents (e.g., Diener and Seligman 2002; Demir 2010) and children (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter 2003; Diener et al. 1995; Holder and Coleman 2008, Holder et al. 2009). Very young children and those with limited language capacities present challenges to researchers' abilities to validly, reliably and sensitively assess well-being. Future research should develop and test alternative measures. For example, implicit measures of happiness may prove valuable, particularly with very young children. As these implicit measures are developed, they should be refined for assessing different ages. However, attempts to develop implicit measures of happiness have met with limited success (Walker and Schimmack 2008).

Third, the study of the relations between positive well-being and friendship in children requires a more nuanced and less generalized perspective. Researchers need to consider individual differences in the child and the nature of their relationships to develop a fuller and more accurate understanding of the relations between children's friendships and their well-being. For example, social expectations, gender, age, and quality of friendships may influence the relationship between friendships and well-being. For instance, friendships differ between boys and girls (see Edwards et al. 2006) and friendships that are not positive can promote negative behaviors such as bullying, risk-taking, and antisocial activities (Leather 2009) which may undermine well-being. Additionally, the relationship between friendships and

well-being may change depending on how children establish and maintain their friendships (e.g., inside school versus outside school, and in person versus texting or online). For example, at least for adolescents and young adults, the qualities of offline and online friendships differ, particularly when the relationships are new (Chan and Cheng 2004). Based on these considerations, we agree with Gilman and Huebner (2003) that measures that take into account context (e.g., home and school) may provide a more complete appreciation of children's happiness. The investigation of the relationship between friendships and happiness in children needs to increase in its sophistication by considering interactions with additional mediators and moderators such as age, context, parenting style, and temperament.

Fourth, the impact of culture on the relationship between happiness and children's friendships needs to be considered. Research has demonstrated that there are cultural differences in students' well-being related to context (Grob et al. 1996; Park and Huebner 2005) and race differences in life satisfaction (e.g., African American students report lower life satisfaction than Caucasian students; Terry and Huebner 1995). Though simple initial forms of play may be similar across cultures, more complex forms of play with friends can differ between cultures depending in part on how adults value children's play (Edwards 2000). Given the influence of culture on children's friendships, including cultural differences in parents' expectations and values related to their children's friendships, the development and impact of friendships following immigration may be of interest to researchers. Just as research in psychology generally neglects the vast majority of cultures outside of America with studies of Asians and Africans almost completely lacking (Arnett 2008), research on children's friendships and happiness needs to broaden the populations of children they sample from. Our own research suggests that though the correlates of children's happiness are similar across cultures, we have identified important differences in the strength of the correlations and the correlates themselves. For example, temperament traits associated with activity, sociability and shyness (temperament traits akin to extraversion) are associated with happiness in children from Canada and India, but emotionality (a temperament trait akin to neuroticism) is associated with happiness only in children from Canada (Holder et al. 2012; Holder and Klassen 2010).

Fifth, the contribution of imaginary friendships to children's happiness and life satisfaction still needs to be assessed. This contribution is relatively unique to children's friendships.

Sixth, systems theory should be applied to the positive domains of children's lives as well as to their strengths. The application of this theory has been fruitful in understanding the development and interactions between largely negative behaviors such as conduct problems, antisocial behavior, violence and criminality (Dodge et al. 2008). Recent work has applied this approach to more positive aspects of children's development to show how friendships can serve a protective function against the increase in depression as a result of avoidance of, or exclusion by, peers (Bukowski et al. 2010). Though this work is important in understanding critical outcomes such as resilience, there is a rich potential in applying this approach to understanding thriving and flourishing as well.

Though some traditional perspectives have suggested that children do not form important friendships before the age of 7 or 8, research suggests that younger children also form and maintain significant friendships (Dunn 2004; Meyer and Driscoll 1997). By considering differences in the quality of friendships across childhood, researchers can better understand the critical dimensions of friendships that are associated with children's well-being. With a more sophisticated understanding, we can then develop and test strategies that enhance children's well-being on a more individualized basis.

Traditionally, educational psychologists have been primarily concerned with identifying and treating ill-being in children and when these goals are met, their work is considered complete. We agree with other researchers (Huebner and Diener 2008) that identifying and promoting the strengths of children, including enhancing their well-being, is also an important component of work with children. This work needs to include investigations of the relations between children's happiness and friendships. However, we support the position of researchers who caution against educators and government agencies developing programs that exclusively focus on developing happy children (Thoilliez 2011). With this caution in mind, we recognize that friendship is a key factor in children's happiness and warrants continued research efforts.

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Friendship and Happiness in Adolescence

Catherine L. Bagwell, Karen P. Kochel and Michelle E. Schmidt

Consider these two examples of friendship in children's literature. First, E. B. White's beloved *Charlotte's Web* tells the story of the spider Charlotte who devotes her life to saving the life of her friend, the pig Wilbur, by weaving messages into her web. Her words of praise for Wilbur and the ensuing fame Charlotte's web brings to the farm convince the farmer to spare Wilbur's life. As Charlotte nears the end of her life, she answers Wilbur's question about why she helped him saying, "You have been my friend…That in itself is a tremendous thing. …By helping you, perhaps I was trying to lift up my life a trifle. Heaven knows anyone's life can stand a little of that" (White 1952, p. 164). Charlotte understands that her friendship with Wilbur contributes to her own happiness.

Second, J. K. Rowling's *Harry Potter* series has enchanted readers over the past decade (e.g., Rowling 1997). One theme that stands out is the power and importance of friendship. Harry, Ron, and Hermione move through adolescence together, and their friendships deepen and become more complicated. As they battle evil forces and learn about the magical world in which they live, their friendships with one another are a primary source of their happiness. Noted friendship researcher William Bukowski (2001) describes the importance of Harry's friendships this way: "Certainly, Harry's life was changed by his friends. He came from a harsh and unhappy childhood. He was bound for a sullen life of dejection. Then it all changed. He met Ron and Hermione, friendships flourished, and he never, or almost never, looked back" (p. 102).

These two examples provide a backdrop for evaluating the link between friendship and happiness in adolescence. There is an impressive history of research on

C. L. Bagwell (✉)
Department of Psychology, Colgate University, 13 Oak Drive, 13346 Hamilton, NY, USA
e-mail: cbagwell@colgate.edu

K. P. Kochel
University of Richmond, Richmond, VA, USA

M. E. Schmidt
Moravian College, Bethlehem, PA, USA

adolescents' peer relations as correlates and predictors of numerous aspects of adjustment, including school adjustment, self-competence and self-esteem, internalizing and externalizing behaviors, and other aspects of social and emotional development. Interest in the special dyadic relationship of friendship took off in the 1980s, and reviews of this burgeoning literature establish the importance of friendships in adolescents' lives (e.g., Bagwell and Schmidt 2011; Ladd 2005; Rubin et al. 2009). Aside from the relatively extensive work on the contributions of friendship to negative affect, happiness (especially positive affect and life satisfaction) has rarely been considered as an antecedent or consequence of adolescents' friendships. Nevertheless, theoretical speculation, lay beliefs, and stories like those of Charlotte and Harry that highlight the importance of social relationships for happiness abound.

In the current chapter, we evaluate the extent to which friendships contribute to happiness. We first consider theory and research on the significance of friendships in adolescence. We then review empirical research that establishes connections between adolescents' experiences in their friendships and their life satisfaction, positive affect, and negative affect. Finally, we suggest several specific directions for future research as investigation of happiness in adolescence catches up with the growing literature on happiness in adulthood.

The Developmental Significance of Friendship in Adolescence

Friendship is a normative experience in adolescence. Most adolescents name at least one or two best friends and several other close friends (Hartup 1993). Adolescents spend significant amounts of time with their friends—in face to face interactions, talking on the phone, and communicating by email and text messages (Hafner 2009; Johnson 2004; Larson 2001)—and adolescents emphasize companionship, loyalty, intimacy, understanding, and support as requirements for friendship (e.g., Berndt 2004; Buhrmester and Furman 1987).

Harry Stack Sullivan (1953) provided an important theoretical framework for understanding the developmental significance of friendship in adolescence. Sullivan contended that various interpersonal needs arise at each period in development and suggested that particular relationships are best-suited for meeting these needs. The need for interpersonal intimacy emerges in preadolescence, and friendships develop to satisfy this need. The friendships Sullivan described are close, dyadic relationships that are based on affection, reciprocity, and mutual liking.

In specifying the developmental significance of friendship, it is necessary to distinguish between dimensions of friendship that might contribute to adolescents' adjustment in different ways. Willard Hartup first articulated the distinctions among having friends, friendship quality, and the characteristics or identity of friends (e.g., Hartup 1996). With regard to having friends, comparisons of interactions between youths and their friends versus nonfriend acquaintances suggest that friends are more positively engaged with one another—they talk, share, smile, and laugh more with friends than with nonfriends—and they show more of the deeper properties of

their relationships—equality, closeness, and loyalty (Newcomb and Bagwell 1995). In addition, adolescents without friends may be at risk for maladjustment.

A focus on friendship quality recognizes that not all friendships are alike, and friendship quality reflects the relative presence of positive and negative features in the relationship. Positive features include companionship, closeness, providing help, intimacy, and loyalty. Negative features include conflict and dominance. Numerous studies show links between friendship quality and various dimensions of concurrent and future adjustment, including self-worth, social competence, and school adjustment (see Berndt 2002, for a review).

Individual characteristics of each adolescent in a friendship pair contribute to the outcomes associated with that relationship; therefore, the characteristics or identity of friends warrant attention. For example, being friends with another who is aggressive versus prosocial or who is highly engaged in school versus at risk for dropping out is expected to have implications for one's own adjustment (e.g., Granic and Dishion 2003). Existing research indicates concurrent and longitudinal linkages between these three friendship dimensions and aspects of adolescent adjustment. Although we expect all three to be associated with adolescents' happiness, there are potentially differential associations between each dimension and various components of happiness.

It may be a simple platitude to suggest that friendships contribute to happiness. After all, ancient philosophers, literary geniuses, and even everyday greeting cards suggest as much. When children and adolescents are asked what makes them happy, important people in their lives, including friends, are a common answer (Chaplin 2009; Magen 1998). In an oft-cited quote from Sullivan's lectures, he identifies what is special about friendships, describing them as "very different" from any other relationship because a child "begins to develop a real sensitivity to what matters to another person. And this is not in the sense of 'what should I do to get what I want,' but instead 'what should I do to contribute to the happiness or to support the prestige and feeling of worth-whileness of my chum'" (p. 245). Interestingly, although numerous empirical investigations have examined whether friendships contribute to the latter of these outcomes—self-esteem and feelings of self-worth— few uniquely consider happiness as a consequence of children's and adolescents' experiences with their friends.

Measuring Happiness and Friendship in Adolescence

Current definitions of happiness, or subjective well-being, typically include three components—life satisfaction, the presence of positive emotions, and the absence of negative emotions (Argyle 2001; Miao et al. 2013; Pavot and Diener 2013). Satisfaction with life is the cognitive component of happiness and is typically measured with scales that index the satisfaction versus dissatisfaction one feels about his or her life in general or within specific domains. Positive and negative affect both comprise the emotional component of happiness. This component is often measured with questions about positive and negative mood or by creating a score to reflect the

balance of positive and negative affect generally experienced. Experience sampling methods (ESM) have also been used to assess specific moments of happiness as well as to index a trait-like indicator of a person's general happiness by combining multiple responses over a period of time (Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter 2003).

Although studies with adults often include multiple indicators of happiness, including both the cognitive and emotional components, this is not the case with research on friendships in adolescence. Instead, some researchers have assessed happiness as part of the broader construct of adolescent adjustment (e.g., Demir and Urberg 2004); others include only one dimension (typically negative affect); still others use single items of happiness. For example, Holder and Coleman (2008) used an item assessing "overall happiness" and included self-, parent-, and teacher-reports on an individual child's happiness.

Huebner and colleagues developed two measures of life satisfaction for use with children and adolescents (see Huebner and Diener 2008). First, the Students' Life Satisfaction Scale (Huebner 1991), a measure of global life satisfaction, is used to assess adolescents' perceptions that they experience their lives as overall satisfying versus dissatisfying. Second, Huebner (1994) developed the Multidimensional Students' Life Satisfaction Scale, which assesses satisfaction in five domains—family, friends, school, self, and general living environment. The items about satisfaction with friends tap into multiple aspects of adolescents' perceptions of the adequacy of their friendships, many that are frequently captured in measures of friendship quality as well, including companionship, help, and conflict.

Reciprocal friendship nominations are the gold standard for assessing friendship in adolescence. Adolescents are asked to name their friends (one best friend, a limited number of friends, or an unlimited number), and a reciprocal friendship exists when the nominated friend also names the adolescent as a friend. Reciprocal friendships are used to determine whether adolescents have a friend or are friendless, and they are also counted as a measure of friendship quantity (see Bagwell and Schmidt 2011). Friendship quality is typically assessed with self-report questionnaires (e.g., Furman and Buhrmester 1985; Bukowski et al. 1994; Parker and Asher 1993). These instruments include items about positive and negative features of friendships, and adolescents report the degree to which each characteristic describes their relationship. Each dimension of friendship can then be considered separately or combined into summary positive (e.g., companionship, intimacy, closeness, help) and negative (e.g., conflict, antagonism) indicators of quality.

Empirical Evidence for the Link Between Friendship and Life Satisfaction

The antecedents, correlates, and consequences of life satisfaction in adolescence have received limited attention despite the fact that life satisfaction is a frequently and thoroughly studied construct in adulthood. Three studies evaluating adolescents' peer experiences suggest connections between friendship and satisfaction with life, especially in the context of peer victimization. Goswami (2012) evaluated children's

and adolescents' reports of a variety of social relationships and their global life sat-isfaction. Positive friendship quality, negative friendship quality, and self-reports of victimization all made unique contributions to life satisfaction in expected direc-tions, though they were not as strong as the contributions of family relationships. In a second study, receiving prosocial acts from peers and experiencing low levels of overt physical or verbal victimization by peers predicted overall life satisfaction in adolescence, suggesting the importance of both avoiding negative peer inter-actions and experiencing positive peer relations in adolescents' appraisal of their life satisfaction (Martin and Huebner 2007). Third, using a short-term longitudinal design, Martin et al. (2008) examined the direction of the association between life satisfaction and victimization and found that adolescents who are dissatisfied with their lives during one school year are at risk for relational victimization and for not experiencing prosocial interactions with peers the following year.

The results of several studies converge to suggest the importance of taking into account the role of friends vis-à-vis other relationships, especially family relation-ships, because friends and peers are perhaps outshined by parents and family rela-tionships in the strength of their association with life satisfaction. Consider these two examples: Dew and Huebner (1994) found that self-concept in the domain of peer relations was associated with global life satisfaction, yet the correlations were not as strong as the link between self-concept in parent relations and life satisfac-tion. In a study of urban adolescents, support from peers was positively correlated with life satisfaction, yet peer support did not contribute uniquely to predictions of satisfaction with life above and beyond the personality characteristics of hope and optimism, even though family support did (Vera et al. 2008).

An alternative way to consider interpersonal predictors of adolescents' life satis-faction is to evaluate the characteristics of adolescents with very high life satisfac-tion, and aspects of peer relationships (e.g., support from friends) distinguish ado-lescents with high versus average versus low life satisfaction (Gilman and Huebner 2006; Suldo and Huebner 2006). Overall, though, it is difficult to draw conclusions about the role of adolescents' friendships in their life satisfaction in part because the existing studies use very different measures of peer relations and do not isolate friendship as a unique relationship in adolescents' lives. In the studies discussed above, positive peer experiences include specific friendship experiences, peer sup-port, low levels of peer victimization, and being the recipient of peers' prosocial behaviors. Additional research considering specific dimensions of friendship—hav-ing friends, friendship quality, and the characteristics of friends—and their contri-butions to adolescents' life satisfaction is needed.

Empirical Evidence for the Link Between Friendship and Positive Affect

Spending time with friends is associated with increasing positive affect from pread-olescence into adolescence (Larson and Richards 1991). Using experience sampling methods, fifth graders reported high levels of positive affect when spending time

with friends, as compared to with parents or alone, and this level of positive affect steadily increased from fifth to ninth grade, suggesting an increase in the happiness that interactions with friends bring to adolescents (Larson and Richards 1991). A decade later, Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter (2003) used experience sampling to evaluate happiness in a national sample of adolescents from sixth through twelfth grades. Among the top ten most frequent activities in which adolescents engage, talking with friends was the activity associated with the highest levels of happiness, and among all possible others with whom an adolescent can spend time, the highest levels of happiness were reported when they were with their friends.

Friendship quality is also associated with the positive affect dimension of happiness (Hussong 2000; Kipp and Weiss 2012). Hussong (2000) considered positive and negative friendship quality as predictors of positive affect among high school students. Boys who reported higher friendship quality also reported experiencing more positive emotions in the past 6 months. Hussong (2000) also considered a typological approach to friendship quality and grouped adolescents according to the degree of positive and negative friendship quality they reported. Boys in the positive engagement group (high positive and low negative features) reported greater positive affect than the disengaged, mixed engagement, and negative engagement groups. Girls in the positive and mixed engagement groups reported greater positive affect than girls in the disengaged group. Thus, the positive features of friendship, especially in the absence of negative features, seem particularly salient for the emotional adjustment of boys.

In a more recent investigation of associations among social support and all three components of happiness, Morgan and colleagues found that perceived social support from friends was correlated with life satisfaction, positive affect, and negative affect in the expected directions (Morgan et al. 2011). However, when analyses considered whether support from friends contributed to subjective well-being above and beyond the contributions of family relationships, support from friends added uniquely only to the prediction of positive affect. Overall, findings with a variety of methods converge to indicate that friends may be especially important as a determinant of adolescents' day-to-day positive affect and mood (e.g., Cheng and Furnham 2002; Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter 2003; Morgan et al. 2011).

Empirical Evidence for the Link Between Friendship and Negative Affect

The component of happiness that has been investigated most thoroughly with regard to adolescents' friendships is the absence of negative affect, especially loneliness and depression. These studies are grounded in a developmental psychopathology perspective that emphasizes peer relations as potential risk and protective factors in the emergence of problem behavior and emotional maladjustment (e.g., Bukowski et al. 2006). Unlike the associations between friendship and positive affect or life satisfaction, multiple dimensions of adolescents' relationships with

their friends have been implicated in the experience of loneliness and depression—having friends, friendship quality, and the characteristics of friends.

Loneliness involves significant negative affect, including feelings of sadness, longing, and emptiness, related to feeling isolated or distanced from others (Parkhurst and Hopmeyer 1999). These emotions are associated with a person's perceptions that his or her social relationships are lacking in quantity and/or quality (Asher and Paquette 2003). Models of loneliness suggest that withdrawn social behavior, peer relationship difficulties, and an attributional style that emphasizes stable and internal attributions for social failures all contribute cumulatively to loneliness and social dissatisfaction (Asher et al. 1990; Rubin et al. 1990). Further specifications of this model suggest that friendship may play an important mediating role in the link between early behavioral characteristics, such as social withdrawal, and loneliness in adolescence (Pedersen et al. 2007). Anxiety and social withdrawal as well as disruptiveness in early childhood create a context in which children have difficulty making and keeping friends in middle childhood. In turn, friendship difficulties contribute to loneliness in early adolescence.

In a test of these models of loneliness, Renshaw and Brown (1993) found that both concurrently and over the course of a school year, having few or no friends was associated with loneliness, and losing friends led to increases in loneliness. Loneliness is felt more acutely by youth without friends than those with friends (e.g., Bowker and Spencer 2010; Parker and Asher 1993); by youth with fewer friends than those with more friends (e.g., Nangle et al. 2003; Pederson et al. 2007); and by youth with lower-quality than higher-quality relationships (e.g., Bukowski et al. 1993; Hoza et al. 2000). These associations hold up both concurrently and over time. For example, having more friends and having-higher-quality friendships help children avoid loneliness across school transitions (e.g., Kingery et al. 2011).

The fact that numerous dimensions of friendship are tied to loneliness suggests that it is more than a fickle association. First, having a mutual friend (versus not) satisfies interpersonal needs and promotes positive feelings about the self and other that are incompatible with loneliness. Second, links between the number of friends and loneliness may reflect the fact that one friend may not be able to satisfy all of a person's needs (Bowker and Spencer 2010; Parker et al. 1999). In adolescence, especially, when the structure of peer groups changes to emphasize multiple levels of relationships (e.g., "best friends" versus "close friends" versus "friends") and when friendships become more differentiated, an adolescent may have multiple friends, each of whom fulfills a distinct need. An adolescent may have one friend from whom he or she solicits emotional support and another friend with whom he or she shares a rousing game of chess. Third, friendship quality may be the dimension of friendship most antithetical to loneliness. Relationships that are high on all of the positive features adolescents expect from friends are those most likely to contribute to one another's happiness as Sullivan described.

Finally, evidence is mounting to suggest that one key way in which friendships in adolescence stave off feelings of loneliness and negative affect is by acting as a buffer between other negative experiences and emotional distress. Here are just several examples. Having close friends protects socially anxious adolescents from

loneliness; socially anxious youth reported high levels of loneliness, but those with more close friends were less lonely than those without many close friends (Erath et al. 2010). Associations between peer victimization and loneliness were attenuated among adolescents with high- (compared to low-) quality friendships (Woods et al. 2009). In addition, preadolescents who experienced peer victimization had increasing internalizing difficulties from one school year to the next if they did not have a best friend, yet peer victimization and changes in internalizing difficulties were unrelated for preadolescents with a best friend (Hodges et al. 1999). Together these findings are suggestive of an important protective role for friendships in adolescence. Although not yet tested directly, having close friends with whom to have fun, share secrets, and engage in intimate conversations may protect adolescents' feelings of happiness in the face of other negative peer experiences.

Just as numerous studies support concurrent links between friendship and low levels of loneliness, evidence supports the hypothesis that having friends and having high-quality friendships are associated with low levels of depression symptoms. In addition, loneliness may mediate the link between friendship difficulties and depression. In this conceptualization, depression is expected to result from poor friendship relations only when children are unhappy and feel lonely (Boivin et al. 1995). It is the dissatisfaction that results from friendship difficulties that contributes to depression symptoms. In support of these ideas, Nangle et al. (2003) found that loneliness mediated the link between having few friends and/or low-quality friendships and depression.

In adolescence, many different aspects of friendships are linked with depression symptoms, including being friendless (e.g., Bagwell et al. 1998); low friendship quality (e.g., Burk and Laursen 2005; La Greca and Harrison 2005); being friends with others who have high levels of depression symptoms (e.g., Giletta et al. 2011; van Zalk et al. 2010); and having many friends with positive characteristics or few friends with negative characteristics (e.g., Simpkins et al. 2008). Recent longitudinal evidence supports an association between friendships and changes in depression. Brendgen and colleagues identified three different trajectories of depressed mood in early adolescence. Compared to friendless youth, youth with nondepressed friends did not experience as much increase in depression, but youth with (versus without) depressed friends showed a greater increase in depressed mood across early adolescence (Brendgen et al. 2010). In addition, Prinstein and colleagues identified peer contagion effects for depression (e.g., Giletta et al. 2011; Prinstein 2007; Stevens and Prinstein 2005). In one study, having a best friend with high levels of depressive symptoms predicted increases in girls' own levels of depression over time (Stevens and Prinstein 2005). Notably, among adults, this emotion contagion has been established for happiness as well (Fowler and Christakis 2008). Across time, happiness spreads, and those who are surrounded by happy others are more likely to be happy in the future.

Much of the research on friendship and depression is motivated by the hypothesis that friendship difficulties contribute to symptoms of depression. In addition, interpersonal theories of depression suggest that depressive symptoms also interfere with the development of peer relations (Hammen 2006; Rudolph 2009).

A growing body of research suggests that depression contributes to the development of problematic peer relations, including peer victimization (Kochel et al. 2012; Tran et al. 2012) and low friendship quality (Brendgen et al. 2002; Prinstein et al. 2005). Depression not only compromises friendship quality but also places youth at risk for few or no mutual friendships. For example, maladaptive relationship appraisals, in combination with depressive symptoms, might cause depressed youth to disengage from their social environments (Rudolph et al. 2008) thereby limiting opportunities for participating in friendships. In turn, youth may not initiate friendships with depressed peers whose disengagement is interpreted as social disinterest. Social-behavioral deficits (e.g., excessive reassurance seeking and negative self-focus) might impede friendship formation and maintenance if such deficits irritate peers or preclude reciprocal self-disclosure and, in turn, inhibit the development of intimacy (e.g. Prinstein et al. 2005). Overall, then, there is strong support for the association between friendship and negative affect, especially loneliness and depression. Nevertheless, researchers should aim to explore more fully both the dimensions of friendship that are more or less associated with loneliness and depression across time and the processes through which loneliness and depression contribute to friendship difficulties or vice versa.

Conclusions and Directions for Future Research

The question about the role of friendships in adolescents' happiness is ripe for further empirical investigation and theoretical consideration. As our review suggests, correlational research supports the conclusion that friendship is associated with happiness, yet stopping at that conclusion is hardly satisfactory. Moving beyond requires additional systematic investigation, and there are at least four important considerations in designing such research: (1) distinguishing between happiness and other aspects of well-being, (2) embracing a multidimensional perspective on friendship, (3) understanding moderators and mediators, and (4) moving beyond cross-sectional to longitudinal investigations.

Subjective Well-being versus Well-being It is important to distinguish between subjective well-being (i.e., happiness) and well-being as assessed by a set of more objective variables including health, education, and income (Argyle 2001). Nobel laureate Amartya Sen writes extensively about the human capabilities approach (see Sen 1999). Sen suggests that a focus on subjective factors like happiness can lead to problems such as "adaptive preferences" in which one may settle when he or she should not be satisfied, or one may be unhappy despite having many objective goods. He argues that we should instead focus on the human capabilities that promote agency, that are truly valued, and that allow us to be and to do. Philosopher Martha Nussbaum (see Nussbaum 2011) suggests ten central human capabilities. One of these is *affiliation*, another is *emotions*, and a third is *play*. It is easy to

envision how friendship might be involved in each of these capabilities—being able to show concern for others, engage in social interaction, laugh, enjoy leisure activities, love and care for others, and form attachments. At the heart of the capabilities approach is the understanding that functional capabilities are a part of well-being and should be valued rather than subjective factors such as happiness.

A distinction between happiness and well-being may be helpful for understanding situations in which adolescents report happiness and satisfaction but are not engaged in behaviors leading to positive well-being (and, in fact, may be involved in behaviors leading to maladjustment). For example, deviancy training explains the process through which antisocial adolescent friends reinforce one another's problem talk and behavior, leading to increased delinquent and risky behaviors (e.g., Granic and Dishion 2003). In these friendships, positive affect tends to follow deviant talk. Friendships that are organized around deviant talk promote behaviors, including substance use, violence, and delinquency, that are not conducive to objective well-being, yet they may be highly satisfying and enjoyable to the participants and involve significant levels of positive affect.

A Multidimensional Perspective on Friendship and Multiple Measures of Friendship and Happiness Additional systematic research on friendship and happiness in adolescence should continue to evaluate multiple dimensions of friendship, and ideally, multiple measures of friendship (e.g., having friends, friendship quality, and the characteristics of friends) will be considered in the same study. In addition, considering less frequently studied aspects of friendship such as gaining or losing friends, negative friendship quality, and the stability of friendships as predictors and consequences of happiness is warranted.

A related issue that has been addressed with adults is whether the quantity or quality of friendships is most strongly linked with happiness, and the conclusion is that relationship quality is a better predictor than the number of close relationships (e.g., Demir et al. 2013; Saphire-Bernstein and Taylor 2013). In studies with adolescents, measures of the number of friends and the quality of friendships have rarely been considered simultaneously. In one study, however, Demir and Urberg (2004) found that for boys, friendship quality was associated with better emotional adjustment (happiness and depressed mood), and having more friendships was indirectly associated with better emotional adjustment through its association with friendship quality. Findings about the salience of quality rather than quantity of friendships in predicting adjustment are consistent with developmental theory suggesting that close intimate friendships are more critical in adolescence than popularity or having many friends. Nevertheless, the number of friends has been linked with happiness, especially negative affect. For example, Nangle et al. (2003) found that friendship quantity and quality were correlated with loneliness among boys, but for girls, only quantity was related to loneliness.

Lucas and colleagues (e.g., Lucas and Dyrenforth 2006; Lucas et al. 2008) have argued that the contribution of social relationships to happiness has been exaggerated in part because of shared method variance that results from reliance on self-report measures of relationship quality and life satisfaction. Additional research is clearly

needed that incorporates not only multiple measures of friendship and happiness but also multiple reporters. For example, measures of friendship quality can be obtained from the friends in addition to the target adolescent; self-report measures of happiness can be augmented by reports from parents, teachers, and friends (e.g., Holder and Coleman 2008). Much of Lucas and colleagues' discussion about the size of the effect between close relationships and happiness does not apply directly to research with adolescents—the comparison between the effect size for relationship variables versus income or research on marital status and happiness. Nevertheless, Lucas et al. raise important questions for future research with adolescents. How do friendships compare with other relationships (for adolescents, parent relationships might be the most important comparison) and other life domains (e.g., school adjustment) in their effect on happiness? Our review of the literature suggests that friendships are indeed central contributors to adolescents' adjustment and happiness. At the same time, we agree with Lucas et al. (2008) that additional evidence is needed to better understand the size of the effect on happiness, specifically, and the role of friendships in relation to other important contributors to adolescents' happiness.

Efforts to gain a more complete picture of the role friendships play in adolescents' happiness should also attend to broader definitions of friendship, such as those forged via technology. For example, a recent study with college students evaluated connections between "Facebook friends" and subjective well-being and found that the number of Facebook friends was directly associated with subjective well-being, and this link was not mediated by perceptions of social support from these friends (Kim and Lee 2011). Similarly, the time adolescents spent with Instant Messaging (IM) was related to their life satisfaction; adolescents' use of IM encouraged more time with their friends, which in turn predicted higher friendship quality and subsequently greater life satisfaction (Valkenburg and Peter 2007). As adolescents engage more and more in social networking sites and establish and maintain relationships with friends in new ways, it is necessary to expand our definitions of friendship and consider the role that these friends play in happiness.

Understanding Moderators and Mediators of the Friendship-Happiness Link As the research connecting friendship to the negative affect dimension of happiness indicates, there are numerous potential moderators of the friendship-happiness association that warrant empirical attention. Age, gender, culture, and developmental tasks are four potentially important moderators to consider. First, as just one example of age as a possible moderator, a developmental perspective on loneliness suggests that what contributes most might differ from childhood to adolescence to adulthood (Asher and Paquette 2003; Parkhurst and Hopmeyer 1999). Young children, for example, might be particularly lonely when they lack friends' companionship—not having someone to sit with at lunch. However, in adolescence, loneliness might be strongly related to lacking close, intimate friends because of the importance of disclosure and emotional support at this age. Second, as discussed above, gender differences emerge in studies of both friendship and positive affect and friendship and negative affect suggesting that the role of friendship experiences in the emotional component of happiness may differ for girls and boys; however, it is premature to

draw strong conclusions about gender as a moderator of the friendship-happiness link. Third, research on college students in the United States, Jordan, and Iran offers a glimpse at the importance of considering culture as a moderator variable (Brannan et al. 2013). Students in all three countries who reported high levels of social support from family also reported greater life satisfaction and positive affect and less negative affect, yet only in the United States was support from friends also linked to all three aspects of happiness. Finally, to the extent that adolescents are experiencing shifts in interpersonal relationships, including increased individuation from parents and the establishment of romantic relationships, the role of friendships in happiness may change. For example, Demir (2010) found that friendship quality forecasted greater happiness for college students not involved in a romantic relationship, but friendship quality did not predict happiness for students involved in a romantic relationship when the quality of relationships with parents and romantic partners was also taken into account.

Given the associations between friendship experiences and happiness among adolescents, an important step is to consider *why* and *in what ways* friendship experiences contribute to happiness. In other words, what are the mediators of the friendship-happiness link? One possibility is that friendship offers provisions that allow adolescents to satisfy important psychological needs. This conceptualization of friendship and need fulfillment draws from numerous psychological theories suggesting that our behavior is centered on fulfilling multiple basic needs (see Baumeister and Leary 1995; Buhrmester 1996; Deci and Ryan 2000, for reviews). Underlying theories of need fulfillment is the assumption that satisfying emerging needs is necessary for well-being, for successfully achieving various developmental tasks, and for happiness (e.g., Deci and Ryan 2000). Developmental models (e.g., Buhrmester 1996; Sullivan 1953) suggest that the prominence of different relationships and different features of relationships might change across the lifespan. For example, numerous empirical studies identify the importance of friends as a source of intimacy in adolescence and as contributing to important developmental tasks of adolescence including identity development and individuation from parents. In contrast, companionship is a provision consistently offered by friends throughout the lifespan. Various provisions of friendship might allow for the satisfaction of basic needs, including autonomy, competence, and relatedness (Deci and Ryan 2000), which in turn, is expected to lead to happiness and well-being (Demir and Özdemir 2010). Further investigation of need fulfillment and other possible explanations of the link between friendship and happiness is a valuable direction for research. For example, among adults, the provision of social support is a primary mechanism through which relationships affect health and well-being (Saphire-Bernstein and Taylor 2013).

Moving to Longitudinal Designs Although much of the existing work on friendship and happiness involves cross-sectional designs, longitudinal designs are critical for at least two reasons. First, they offer the potential for better understanding the developmental issues at play in the links between friendship and happiness. For example, the theories of need fulfillment described above suggest important developmental

shifts in the interpersonal needs most salient at particular ages. Longitudinal designs can help elucidate potential developmental changes in how friendship and happiness are related at particular ages, whether certain aspects of friendship are most associated with specific components of happiness at certain ages, and whether the connections between friendships and happiness wax and wane throughout development.

Second, longitudinal designs allow for more clear specification of the direction of the effect between friendship and happiness. Although the assumption made in many correlational, cross-sectional studies is that friendship contributes to happiness, it is also likely that adolescents who are happy are more successful in the peer world. Interpersonal theories of depression suggest as much (e.g., Rudolph 2009; Rudolph et al. 2008). Likewise, Lyubomirsky et al. (2005) provide extensive evidence to suggest that happy adults have more and stronger friendships and are viewed as more likeable than less happy adults. There are likely complex transactions between friendship and happiness such that having good friends leads to positive affect and life satisfaction and protects against negative affect. In turn, adolescents who are happier may be more successful in forming and maintaining friendships. Happy adolescents are expected to evoke positive responses from others, including positive reinforcement and positive social overtures. Peers may be more attracted to them because they seem friendly and fun to be around, and once friendships are formed, happy (compared to unhappy) adolescents may have an easier time maintaining those relationships—they may be better prepared to resolve conflicts with friends and more successful eliciting support from friends. Longitudinal studies that allow for testing transactional models of happiness and friendship over time are needed.

These and other directions for future research will help us better understand how, in what ways, and under what conditions friendships both contribute to and are facilitated by happiness. As a result, we will have scientific evidence to more carefully evaluate and understand the centrality of friendship in the happiness of Charlotte and Wilbur; Harry, Ron, and Hermione; and the rest of us.

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Friendship and Happiness Among Young Adults

**Melikşah Demir, Haley Orthel-Clark, Metin Özdemir
and Sevgi Bayram Özdemir**

Friendship is a cherished, personal relationship among young adults. The popularity of television shows such as Friends, which has been broadcasted across the globe, and movies such as Thelma & Louis, Circle of Friends, Good Will Hunting, and I Love You, Man, highlight the importance of friendships in one's life. More importantly, the implicit assumption among laypeople that this invaluable bond plays a key role in the lives and well-being of young adults, has been recognized and studied by social scientists. Since the seminal works of Watson (1930), Wilson (1967), Diener (1984) and theoretical arguments of Sanchez-Hidalgo (1953), significant progress has been observed in the literature, especially in the last three decades. During this time period, researchers have documented the importance of friendship as a robust correlate of happiness. Specifically, this line of research has shown that various indices of friendship are reliably related to happiness among young adults across ethnic and cultural groups and has also addressed how friendship is related to happiness (Demir et al. 2013b). Collectively, the literature leaves no doubt that friendship has implications for happiness. Yet, as it will be argued in our review, more research on the topic is needed in order to address some limitations of the current literature.

In this chapter, we provide an overview of the literature that has been compiled over the years, assessing the association between friendship and happiness for young

M. Özdemir (✉)
Center for Developmental Research, School of Law,
Psychology and Social Work, Örebro University 701 82 Örebro, Sweden
e-mail: metin.ozdemir@oru.se

M. Demir
Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, USA
e-mail: Meliksah.Demir@nau.edu

H. Orthel-Clark
Truckee Meadows Community College, Reno, NV, USA
e-mail: horthelclark@tmcc.edu

S. Bayram Özdemir
e-mail: sevgiozdemir1@gmail.com

adults. As a note, our review will not include studies that address online friendships, or friendships strictly maintained via social media venues. Our chapter is organized around three primary focal points that address assessment, theoretical review and new directions within the field. More specifically, we have provided an overview of how friendship and happiness are often measured, in an effort to clarify how these two concepts are construed in the literature. Additionally, we have provided a brief review of the theoretical arguments, and a detailed account of the empirical evidence regarding the association between friendship and happiness. Finally, we have included directions for future research that may promote the development of a better understanding of the link between friendship and happiness.

Conceptualization and Measurement of Friendship and Happiness

Happiness is conceptualized as the combination of cognitive and affective evaluations of one's own life (Miao et al. 2013; Pavot and Diener 2013). The assessment of happiness is often based on the measures of global life satisfaction and the relative weight of positive affect in relation to negative affect. Many well-established scales exist to measure these components (see Miao et al. 2013 for a review). Additional scales assess the individual's global and subjective feelings of happiness (Lyubomirksy and Lepper 1999). In some instances, studies rely on a single-item measure of happiness when investigating the friendship-happiness association (e.g., Gladow and Ray 1986).

Friendship is a voluntary interdependence between two individuals that includes the experience and satisfaction of various provisions (intimacy, support, self-validation) to varying degrees (Hays 1988; Demir et al. 2014). Friendship is a mixed blessing such that it also involves conflict (Berndt and McCandless 2009; Solano 1986). Thus, it is appropriate to consider friendship as having two major dimensions: overall quality that includes various provisions and conflict. Commonly used scales addressing these dimensions include the Network of Relationships Inventory (NRI) (Furman and Buhrmester 1985) and the McGill Friendship Questionnaire-Friend's Functions (MFQ-FF) (Mendelson and Aboud 1999). Another dimension of friendship that is frequently studied in the literature includes the assessment of friendship quantity (Demir and Weitekamp 2007; Requena 1995). Friendship quantity is typically measured with a single item, which asks participants to report their number of close friends. Yet, this dimension alone does not tell much about how individuals experience their friendships (Demir et al. 2013b). Thus, differentiating the degree of closeness among one's friends and assessing the quality and conflict experienced in every friendship would be ideal. Finally, relationship scholars in the field have also focused on satisfaction with friends (Jones 1991; Lyubomirsky et al. 2006). This index of friendship has also typically been assessed with a single item (Michalos 1980; Lyubomirsky et al. 2006); yet there are a few scales adapted (e.g., Morry 2003) or developed (e.g., Tsuzuki and Matsui 2000) to measure friendship

satisfaction. Overall, these four indices of friendship (i.e. quantity, quality, conflict, and satisfaction) have been studied in the literature when investigating the relationships between friendship and happiness.

Theoretical Background and Review of Empirical Evidence

Theoretical Contributions

Individuals across all walks of life and scholars studying friendship have the common assumption that friendship is important for happiness. Not surprisingly, friends and friendships (having a friend, interactions with friends) have emerged as themes or factors in a plethora of studies that have investigated sources of happiness among young adults across cultures (Caunt et al. 2013; Coleta and Coleta 2006; Lu and Shih 1997; Tafarodi et al. 2012). Yet, the question still remains, why would friendship be related to happiness? Although ancient philosophers have elaborated on the topic and provided some insight (Lynch, this volume; Pangle 2003), theoreticians and researchers in the field of psychology have only been working on this issue for the past three decades. For instance, it has been argued that friendship is related to happiness because it fulfills a fundamental human need for social interaction (Baumeister and Leary 1995; Demir and Davidson 2013; Lyubomirsky 2007). Other explanations primarily focus on specific provisions experienced in the friendship to explain why this unique bond is related to or predictive of happiness. Specifically, support received from the friend, intimacy in the relationship, spending time with friends, and engaging in enjoyable activities with the friend have been proposed to account for the friendship-happiness association (Argyle 2001; Cooper et al. 1992; Demir and Weitekamp 2007; Diener and Biswas-Diener 2008, Lyubomirsky 2007; Reis 2001; Taylor 2010). Collectively, these arguments provide insight on the association between friendship experiences and happiness.

Empirical Findings

Friendship Quantity and Happiness. As addressed above, there are multiple dimensions of friendships and each of them has been studied in relation to happiness among young adults. To start with, a significant number of studies have shown a positive association between the number of friends one claims to have and happiness across different ethnic and cultural groups (Berry and Hansen 1996; Burt 1987; Demir and Weitekamp 2007; Ellison 1990; Requena 1995; Taylor et al. 2001; Ying 1995). Yet, the strength of association is typically low. Specifically, the correlation between number of friends and happiness varies between $r = 0.10$ and 0.20 (see Lucas and Dyrenforth 2006; Pinquart and Sörensen 2000 for meta-analytic reviews).

Friendship Quality and Happiness. As for friendship quality, empirical studies have consistently documented a positive association between friendship quality (overall quality or single relationship provisions) and happiness among young adults across cultures (Brannan et al. 2013; Cheng and Furnham 2003; Demir and Weitekamp 2007; Demir et al. 2007, 2011b, 2012, 2013a, 2013c; Lu 1995, 1999). The magnitude of the correlations across studies is often small to moderate ranging between $r = 0.20$ and 0.40. An interesting finding in the literature is that the importance of friendship quality for happiness varies by the degree of friendship closeness. A few studies gathered relationship quality data for the participants' best and two next closest friends (Demir 2007; Demir and Özdemir 2010; Demir et al. 2007, 2011a). Although the quality of every friendship was positively related to happiness, the association was stronger for best friendship. Also, Demir et al. (2007) have found that only best friendship quality emerged as a significant predictor when all friendships competed for variance in happiness. Moreover, both studies found interactions highlighting the importance of best friends. For example, the quality of other close relationships did not matter for young adults' happiness when the best friendship was of low quality. Clearly, the benefits that might be accrued from less close friendships are contingent on high quality relationship experiences with one's best friend. As Demir et al. (2013b, p. 863) aptly stated "… it is reasonable to suggest that it might not be the number of friends one has, but the varying degrees of friendship quality within one's network of closest friends that matters most for happiness."

Friendship Satisfaction and Happiness. A considerable number of studies focusing on friendship satisfaction yielded a positive association between happiness across cultures as well (Cooper et al. 1992; Diener and Diener 1995; Headey 1981; Lee et al. 2002; Lyubomirsky et al. 2006; Michalos and Orlando 2006; Rojas 2006). The strength of the correlation between satisfaction with friends and happiness varies between $r = 0.20$ and 0.60. Overall, the available literature suggests that friendship quality and relationship satisfaction are more important than quantity for happiness among young adults.

Friendship Conflict and Happiness. Of the four indices of friendship, the association of conflict with happiness among young adults has received the least amount of attention from scholars. The findings from a limited number of studies addressing the impact of conflict with friends are mixed. Some of the existing studies reported a low to small negative correlation ranging from $r = -0.10$ to 0.30 (Berry et al. 2000; Demir 2010; Demir and Orthel 2011; Demir and Weitekamp 2007). Evidence also exists suggesting that friendship conflict is similarly related to happiness among women and men ($rs = -0.28$ and -0.30, respectively) (Demir and Orthel 2011). However, some other studies reported no significant association between friendship conflict and happiness (Demir and Özdemir 2010; Demir et al. 2007). These inconsistent findings suggest that the relationship between friendship conflict (frequency, resolution, management) and happiness should be examined in future research, especially with a focus on potential moderating factors such as gender and culture.

Friendship-Specific Experiences and Happiness. One promising line of research that is growing in the literature focuses on specific friendship experiences such as

perceived autonomy support from friends (Deci et al. 2006) and perceived mattering to friends (Demir et al. 2011b). This line of research is important because it offers a broader, and perhaps a more theoretically coherent, perspective on friendship as it relates to happiness. That is, although decades of research leave no doubt that number of friends, satisfaction with friends, and friendship quality are related to happiness (to varying degrees) for young adults across different cultures, these studies do not tell much about how friendship specific experiences are related to happiness. The greening and ripening of relationship science (Berscheid 1999; Reis 2007) has undoubtedly helped friendship researchers as they move beyond the investigation of friendship quality, quantity and their associations with happiness. For instance, romantic relationship researchers have begun to propose and construct measures that are *related* to relationship quality and satisfaction; however, they are distinct in that they tap into more specific romantic relationship experiences (e.g., Gable et al. 2004). Recent work has begun to apply this same method to the study of friendships (Demir et al. 2013). Additionally, self-determination theory (Deci and Ryan 2000; Ryan and Deci 2000) in general and its constructs across sub-theories has been studied in friendship context (e.g., Deci et al. 2006; Demir et al. 2011a).

Three recent studies deserve attention at this point. First, Ratelle et al. (2013) distinguished perceived autonomy support from multiple figures (parent, friends, romantic partner) and found that support for autonomy from friends was positively related to happiness (the composite score for happiness atypically included academic life satisfaction). The authors also found that participants experienced the highest level of happiness only when each relationship figure was perceived to be highly autonomy supportive. It is important to note that this interesting finding could not have been obtained had the authors not distinguished types of relationships. Second, Demir et al. (2011a) have argued that perceived autonomy support from the friend has the potential to promote relationship maintenance behaviors, which in turn is related to happiness. This mediation model was supported for the best and first closest friendships among young adults using three different measures of happiness. Overall, these studies suggest that autonomy support from friends is related to happiness through a mechanism that can be explained by friendship maintenance. Third, Demir and Davidson (2013) showed that perceived mattering to the friend, perceived responses to one's capitalization attempts, and satisfaction of basic needs in the friendship were related to happiness. These findings generalized to both sexes and it was shown that the above friendship experiences explained 19 and 27% of the variance in happiness among women and men, respectively. When the variables competed for variance, needs satisfaction emerged as the most important predictor of happiness in both groups. These studies clearly suggest that there is more to learn about the friendship-happiness association, in addition to what we already know, based on the satisfaction of various provisions (e.g., intimacy), relationship satisfaction, and friendship quantity. Future research has the potential to develop a broader understanding of the topic by focusing on relationship specific experiences and feelings.

The current literature leaves no doubt that friendship is a robust and consistent correlate of happiness. Our review suggests that the relationships of friendship quality and satisfaction with happiness are stronger than friendship quantity. As

noted above, there is still more research that needs to be conducted before we can firmly grasp the conflict-happiness association. However, it is gratifying that recent research is moving beyond traditional correlates of friendship and happiness. As illustrated in the aforementioned studies, the scope of friendship research has begun to widen and encompass unique contributions of friendship-specific experiences as they relate to happiness. It is essential to keep pace with these growing trends and begin to discover how important friendship is to happiness when major correlates of happiness and other close relationships of the young adults are taken into account. We address this issue in the next section.

How Important is Friendship to Happiness?

Our review of the literature suggests that friendship is a consistent correlate of happiness among young adults. Yet, a few critical issues need to be presented and highlighted before making strong statements about the importance of friendship for happiness. These issues pertain to the methodological limitations that can be identified within friendship and happiness studies, in addition to the role of friendship in happiness when studied alongside robust correlates of happiness and other significant bonds young adults maintain.

To start with, although various indices of friendship are consistently related to happiness across studies and cultural groups, the correlations are generally small to moderate. Thus, we dont believe that it would be appropriate to claim that friendship is a major source of happiness (see Demir et al. 2013b) because doing so would be an overstatement (Lucas and Dyrenforth 2006; Lucas et al. 2008). Additionally, shared method variance is a common problem in the literature since most studies rely on self-report measures of single informants. It has been argued that variables that are measured using the same method, and through the same informants may lead to inflation in the observed correlation estimates (DeVellis 2011). Thus, the observed small to moderate association between friendship and happiness could be partially affected by the shared method variance (Lucas et al. 2008). However, studies that used other methods such as observational, experience sampling, and longitudinal design have also reported a positive association between friendship and happiness (Berry and Hansen 1996; Csikszentmihalyi and Hunter 2003; Grabill and Kerns 2000; Larson 1990; Lu 1999). In sum, the small to moderate association between friendship and happiness seems to be robust across various study methods. Future multi-method and multi-informant research is needed though to provide further support to this observation.

Second, convincing empirical evidence suggesting that friendship is a predictor of happiness, above and beyond the major correlates of happiness, is needed to highlight the importance of friendship for happiness. A well-established finding in the literature is that personality is one of the strongest predictors of happiness such that it explains as high as 50 % of the variance in happiness (Diener et al. 1999; Lyubomirksy et al. 2005). Moreover, it is well-documented that various

personality characteristics such as extraversion and agreeableness are related to friendship (Demir and Weitekamp 2007; Nelson et al. 2011; Selfhout et al. 2010). It could be that personality might be the common cause of both friendship experiences and happiness. Thus, the relationship between friendship experiences and happiness might disappear once personality is taken into account. However, empirical research among young adults in different cultures has shown that this is not the case. Specifically, it has been shown that friendship experiences (e.g., quality) explained additional variance in happiness above and beyond the influence of personality among young adults in Taiwan, Turkey, and the U.S. (Demir and Doğan in press; Demir and Weitekamp 2007; Lu 1999). Overall, these findings across cultures suggest that friendship is an important correlate of happiness among young adults; even when major correlates of happiness are taken into account.

Third, the importance of friendship for happiness among young adults could be tested more strictly when other significant relationships young adults maintain are assessed simultaneously. Although this issue has been more frequently addressed in other age groups (e.g., Bertera 2005; Li and Cheng, this volume; Okun and Keith 1998; Walen and Lachman 2000), a few studies among young adults shed light on the topic. Demir (2010) examined the relative importance of close relationships with mother, father, best friend, and romantic partner among young adults with and without a romantic partner. Friendship quality was positively associated with happiness in both groups. Although friendship quality was the most important predictor of happiness among single adults, it did not emerge as a predictor of happiness for young adults involved in a romantic relationship. Further, Brannan et al. (2013) studied the associations of perceived social support from family and friends with happiness among college students from Iran, Jordan, and the United States of America. Although perceived family and friendship support were positively related to happiness across all cultures, friendship support emerged as a predictor of happiness only for Jordanians and Americans. These findings suggest that while friendship is cross-culturally relevant, it is more important within some cultural contexts relative to others when simultaneously assessed with support received from family. These studies among young adults suggest that the role and importance of friendship for happiness might change depending on one's relationship status and when the quality of multiple close relationships is taken into account in different cultures.

To reiterate, how important is friendship to happiness? Although theoreticians have argued that friendship is a major source of happiness (Argyle 2001; Edwards and Klemmack 1973), our review suggests that this argument could be debated. Certainly, friendship is a reliable and consistent correlate of happiness among young adults even when taking major correlates of happiness into account. Yet, the robust association of friendship with happiness might change depending upon one's relationship status and culture. Future research has the potential to develop a stronger account of the friendship-happiness link. We provide some theoretical and methodological directions to achieve this goal in the next section.

Future Directions

Decades of empirical research leave no doubt that friendship is a source of happiness and various friendship experiences are related to happiness to varying degrees. Although this literature will continue to grow in the following years, there are a number of theoretical and methodological issues that need to be addressed to further the field. We believe that the issues raised below are not strictly relevant to young adult friendship-happiness research, but would benefit friendship-happiness research across various age groups.

It has become apparent over the years, that there is a need to develop reliable and valid measurement strategies. There are a number of close social relationships that might be mixed with friendship relations. Evidence suggests that people may consider their relatives, siblings, or romantic partners as friends (Demir and Weitekamp 2007; Sheets and Lugar 2005). Also, it is possible to differentiate between friendships as best friends, close friends, and ordinary friends. Young adults who were provided with a definition of close friendship reported having fewer close friends compared to their reports without a definition (Demir and Özdemir 2010; Reisman 1981). Thus, assessment procedures should include a clear definition of the targeted friendship relationship. The observed associations that are obtained without a clear definition may not provide clear evidence for reliable conclusions.

Related to the point above, it is essential that future empirical research distinguish friendship from other relationships when investigating the association of social support or relationship satisfaction with happiness. Decades of theoretical work supported with empirical research leave no doubt that relationships, satisfaction with them (Baumeister and Leary 1995), and social support is related to happiness (e.g., Lakey 2013). Yet, recent empirical studies either do not specify the source of support, satisfaction with support, or the researchers combine support received from multiple figures (e.g., family, friends) as they investigate the relationship between support and happiness (Darbonne et al. 2013; Galinha et al. 2012; Herrero et al. 2011; Kong and You in press; Siedlecki et al. in press, Zhu et al., 2013). Although the findings from this line of research are valuable, the findings convey the same well-accepted message that relationships and perceived support do matter for happiness. Yet, it doesn't specify the role of friendships in happiness. More importantly, theoretical arguments (e.g., Cantor 1979; Collins and Madsen 2006; Simons 1983–1984; see Li and Cheng (this volume) for a review) and empirical research have clearly highlighted that different relationships serve different functions and play different roles in well-being not only in young adulthood but also in different age groups (Antonucci et al. 2004; Furman and Buhrmester 1992; Carbery and Buhrmester 1998; Demir 2010; Pinquart and Sörensen 2000). Thus, we believe that a clear differentiation of friendship from other relationships in future research would enhance our understanding of the position of friendship in one's social network as it is related to happiness.

A review of current literature shows that there has been little focus on cross-sex friendships as most research has focused on same-sex friendship. This is a notable limitation of the literature since individuals establish and maintain platonic cross-sex friendships across the lifespan and this is especially common among young

adults (Monsour 2002). Although developing and maintaining cross-sex friendships might be difficult in different age groups, due to various adaptive and developmental tasks (Lewis et al., this volume), Procsal and her colleagues (Procsal et al., this volume) have shown that cross-sex friendship is a reliable correlate of happiness in different cultures. We believe that more research on the topic, especially cross-cultural investigations, is needed to establish confidence in the findings that cross-sex friendships are related to happiness, and to identify possible mediators and moderators of this association.

Since the association of friendship with happiness is well-established in the literature, we believe that it is time researchers focus on the mediators and moderators of this association (Demir et al. 2013; Demir et al. in press; Demir and Özdemir 2010). This call is consistent with Wilson (1967) who argued that there should be less of an emphasis in the literature in which happiness is merely correlated with variables. Understanding how, why, and when friendship is related to happiness is necessary to develop a comprehensive understanding of the friendship-happiness link. A few recent studies gave heed to these calls and have shown that satisfaction of basic psychological needs in friendships (Demir and Özdemir 2010), perceived mattering to friends (Demir et al. 2011b), and personal sense of uniqueness (Demir et al. 2013c) accounted for the relationship between friendship quality and happiness. More importantly, the mediating roles of needs satisfaction and perceived mattering was observed across multiple friendships (best and the next two closest). As this review showed, friendship is associated with happiness regardless of the assessment of the constructs. Thus, the task before us is to keep investigating why this is the case.

As for the moderators of the association, gender has been a commonly investigated variable. Although gender might moderate the relationship between relationship quality in intimate relationships and happiness (Saphire-Bernstein and Taylor 2013), studies focusing on friendship have shown that the associations of friendship experiences (quality, perceived mattering) with happiness are similar across gender (Demir and Davidson 2013; Demir et al. 2013b). On the other hand, past research has shown that being in a romantic relationship and progress towards the resolution of developmental tasks such as identity formation moderated the friendship-happiness link (Demir 2010; Demir et al. 2013b; Walen and Lachman 2000). For instance, Demir (2010) has reported that friendship quality was not related to happiness among emerging adults who had higher levels of conflict in their romantic relationships. Further research is needed to examine other potential moderators, such as culture, to understand if or when the relationship between friendship and happiness may change.

Another key issue to consider pertains to the use of college students in psychological research. The studies reviewed in this chapter overwhelmingly relied on college students. Reliance on college students in research has been criticized mainly because of the limited generalizability of findings to other age groups (Gordon et al. 1986; Henrich et al. 2009; McNemar 1946; Peterson 2001; Reynolds 2010; Sears 1986). Yet, recent studies suggest that college students are more similar than different to other age groups and reliance on college students does not threaten the validity

of findings (Cooper et al. 2011; Wiecko 2010). Although this ongoing debate in the literature is likely to continue in the following years, reliance on traditional college students when studying the friendship-happiness association among young adults might not represent a major concern because studies conducted with the college population include the implicit assumption that they represent young adults. As long as generalizations to other age groups are not a concern, reliance on college students could be justified to some extent. Indeed, since the college students represent a worthy population of empirical study there are specific journals dedicated to the understanding of college students' experiences and large-scale studies investigating the mental health of this population (e.g., Castillo and Schwartz 2013). Yet, not every young adult in the United States of America (Stratton 2014) and in other cultures (e.g., Nelson et al. 2013) goes to college. This fact challenges the implicit assumption of studies conducted with college students such that findings might be generalized to non-college-attending young adults (Tanner 2006). Although a few studies have shown that college students are similar to their non-college-attending peers (e.g., Blanco et al. 2008), no study, to the best of our knowledge, investigated the friendship-happiness association in these two groups. Thus, it remains to be seen whether the findings obtained with college students generalize to the young adults who are not in college.

Although the issues raised above are important, another critical, yet understudied phenomenon within friendship literature, is the issue of volunteer bias. Considering that college students are often relied upon as participants in this research domain, it is essential to examine what (if anything) sets those who are interested in study participation apart from those who are uninterested. A growing body of research has documented the potential pitfalls of utilizing research volunteers in non-friendship related areas of study. Findings from various disciplines have shown that volunteers often times significantly differ from non volunteers, suggesting that there is a self-selection process inherent to research which relies on volunteer convenience samples (Berman et al. 1998; Strassberg and Lowe 1995; Weiderman 1999). This phenomenon has been labeled as volunteer bias (Heiman 2002).

While there has been little attention paid to this potential confound within friendship and happiness literature, some preliminary studies have sought to identify whether this is a valid concern within the field. For example, Orthel and Demir (2011) asked participants with a same-sex best friend (SSBF) their willingness to participate in a research study on same-sex friendship. Following this initial question, regardless of their willingness and without their knowledge about the content, participants were then provided with well-established measures tapping into friendship and happiness constructs. Findings revealed that men were less willing than women to participate in friendship research, a finding consistent with past research (Lewis et al. 1989). Results also revealed interesting patterns for volunteers and non-volunteers. Volunteers, compared to non-volunteers, reported higher levels of relationship quality and friendship specific experiences (e.g., autonomy support) with moderate effect sizes. Although the groups did not differ from each other on happiness, the strength of the correlations between friendship variables and happiness were significantly stronger for non-volunteers when compared to volunteers

across men and women. These findings pose a potential threat to the validity of the findings within young adult friendship research. Specifically, it could be that we are studying college students who have better friendships. Yet, the friendship-happiness association is stronger in the non-volunteer group. This pattern suggests the possibility that reliance on volunteers and their restricted range of data might be minimizing the magnitude of the relationship that does exist between friendship quality and happiness. As we continue to develop our understanding of the relationship between happiness and friendship, it is encouraged that researchers be cognizant of the potential implications of convenience sampling and cautious about making generalizations.

For researchers seeking to address the significance of friendship for happiness across the lifespan, it is important to note that views of adulthood have begun to shift towards incorporating a new stage, emerging adulthood (Arnett 2006). It has been proposed that the period of the human lifespan encompassing the late teens to the late 20's is inclusive of unique social experiences (Arnett 2000). Although this age group has been recognized and a variety of close relationships during this age group has been studied, few studies focused on friendship among emerging adults and investigated the friendship-happiness association in this age group (Barry and Madsen 2010; Collins and van Dulmen 2006; Demir 2010; Lefkowitz et al. 2004). That is the reason why the focus of of this chapter was on young adults.

Researchers have characterized emerging adulthood as a period of identity exploration. Thus, while individuals experience what the world has to offer in ways of work, love, friendship and education, they are likely to experience instability within these domains just the same (Arnett and Tanner 2006). One could question whether this trend in instability generalizes to one's relationships as well. Are emerging adult friendship needs and experiences distinct relative to other developmental periods? Do friendship experiences have a unique way of influencing happiness during emerging adulthood? At this time, there are more questions than answers with respect to how friendship experiences may or may not be unique during this stage of development. Oswald and Clark (2003) showed that during the transition from high school to college, many emerging adults begin to experience decreased satisfaction, commitment and investment with best friendships from high school. However, maintenance of best friendships has been shown to have a sort of protective effect from loneliness (Oswald and Clark 2003). These findings speak to the challenges that are specific to friendship in emerging adulthood, as well as one of the functions friendship can serve during this period. Future research should seek to grow our understanding of friendship and its contributions to happiness for emerging adults. Additionally, researchers should be careful to distinguish emerging adulthood as a stage that is distinct from adolescence and young adulthood (Arnett and Tanner 2006). This will undoubtedly be a challenge for researchers because of the possibility that not every college student is or feels like an emerging adult (Kins and Beyers 2010). We believe that assessment of the achievement of adulthood criteria (Nelson and Barry 2005) would be useful when investigating the friendship-happiness association. This approach has the potential to differentiate emerging adults from young adults. Although this practice requires more work before assessing the friendship

experiences of the participants, it is needed and essential if we are to develop a clear understanding of the friendship-happiness association among emerging and young adults.

The final, but perhaps the most important issue surrounding the friendship-happiness association, is the question of causality. Some scholars have argued that friendship is an important source of happiness suggesting a causal link (Argyle 2001; Edwards and Klemmack 1973). Argyle (2001) even proclaimed that social relationships are the "greatest single cause" of happiness. Nevertheless, this argument is not supported by evidence yet. Most studies on friendship-happiness association are correlational. Correlational studies cannot provide evidence regarding the direction of effect. Moreover, there is also evidence suggesting that changes in well-being influences the number of friends, rather than the other way around, among non-married elderly women (Adams 1988). In sum, there is need for more research to test the direction of effect between friendship and happiness and the assumption of causality.

The question of directionality and causal link could be addressed using different research methods. Longitudinal studies may help testing hypotheses regarding whether changes in friendship experiences are related to changes in happiness or the other way around. Longitudinal data is also best suited to test mediating mechanisms that may explain why and how friendship is linked to happiness (MacKinnon et al. 2010). Such studies need to measure multiple aspects of friendship and happiness repeatedly over time, allowing sufficient time to pass between measurement intervals to observe changes in both friendships and happiness. Researchers may test direction of effects using cross-lagged models (Finkel 1995) or parallel process growth models (Duncan et al. 2006). In addition, researchers may focus on examining changes in social networks over time using another state-of-the-art method that can analyze social networks such as SIENA (Simulation Investigation for Empirical Network Analysis; Ripley et al. 2012). Longitudinal peer nomination data may be analyzed using network analysis techniques to answer whether friendship formations over time increase happiness, or whether happiness is predictive of friendship formations over time. Peer nomination technique is often used to collect data from school age children and adolescents. However, this technique could also be applied to college and workplace samples. In sum, state-of-the-art data analysis methods for longitudinal design could further our understanding of the link between friendship and happiness, the processes that may explain this association, and eloquently address some of the problems inherent in the current literature (e.g., Lucas et al. 2008).

Despite its strengths, longitudinal research design does have limitations when trying to infer causality. Causal inference requires meeting three different conditions (Shadish et al. 2002). Applying these conditions to the friendship-happiness link, researchers should demonstrate that (1) changes in friendship should precede the changes in happiness; (2) changes in friendship is statistically significantly related to the changes in happiness; and (3) there is no other plausible explanation to changes in happiness other than the changes in friendship. Longitudinal design may provide test of the first two conditions. However, all these conditions could only be

met by well-conducted experimental research designs (Shadish et al. 2002). Thus, prevention trials may provide a new avenue to test the causal link between friendship and happiness. Including carefully designed measurements into the evaluation of the effectiveness of prevention programs targeting social skills and friendship relations may further our understanding of the association between friendship and happiness.

Conclusion

Friendship is a precious and cherished relationship for young adults, especially among those who are single and in college. Decades of empirical research leave no doubt that friendship is a reliable correlate of happiness in this age group. The associations of indices of friendship with happiness are small to moderate in size, but consistent across gender, ethnic, and cultural groups. Although significant scientific progress has been observed in the last decade, future research investigating the friendship-happiness association among young adults could be enhanced by addressing a number of theoretical and methodological considerations. For instance, by providing clear definitions of what constitutes a friend prior to measuring friendship experiences. In addition, through incorporating multi-method approaches (e.g. longitudinal, experimental, quasi-experimental) we can undoubtedly enhance confidence in the findings reported in the literature and begin to elucidate the issue of directionality and causality within the study of friendship and happiness. Addressing these challenges has the potential to substantially advance theory and research. It is well-established that friendship is related to happiness. The task before us is to keep researching why and when this is the case, by taking the limitations of the current literature into account.

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Friendship and Happiness Among Middle-Aged Adults

Katherine L. Fiori and Christy A. Denckla

Mid-life is a developmental stage characterized by changing social, health, and intrapersonal factors that distinguish it in many ways from early adulthood and late life. For example, midlife adults face complex and changing social roles characterized by the dual tasks of both providing social support to others and being the beneficiary of it (Antonucci et al. 2001; Lachman 2004; Nolen-Hoeksema and Ahrens 2002). Additionally, midlife is associated with unique stressors, such as infertility (Glover and Parry 2008), divorce (Hartup and Stevens 1997), and conjugal loss (Stroebe et al. 2007). As a result of the dual task demands of work and parenting, friendships in midlife may become "fused" or "blended" with these life tasks. For example, Hartup and Stevens (1997) found that in midlife, adults spend less than 10 % of their time with friends. However, working mothers reported that after their 40's they visited friends more due to a release from family responsibilities (Maas and Kuypers 1975), suggesting that functional demands influence allocation of time spent with friends in midlife.

It is clear that companionship and talk remain important for friendships at midlife, as do sharing, exchange of resources, and emotional support (especially during crises) (Hartup and Stevens 1997). Weiss and Lowenthal (1975) suggest that middle-aged adults are increasingly involved in more helping and understanding relationships than their adolescent and newlywed counterparts. The increasing generativity associated with midlife (Son and Wilson 2011) and growing salience of limits to time remaining in one's life (Carstensen 2006) may underlie a motivation to cultivate high quality emotionally meaningful social relations with friends and family, which may result in reduced quantity but increased quality of friends.

In young adulthood, psychosocial well-being seems to be more strongly tied to social support from friends than family (Allen et al. 2000), but as people progress through old age, kin relationships become more strongly related to quality of life and general well-being (Heller et al. 1991; Walen and Lachman 2000). However, most research has compared younger and older adults, neglecting adults at midlife.

K. L. Fiori (✉) · C. A. Denckla
Adelphi University, Garden city, NY, USA
e-mail: fiori@adelphi.edu

From an historical context, research that has addressed the friendship-happiness link among middle-aged adults began with the development of multiple self-report measures of happiness (e.g. Watson 1930; see also Wilson (1967) for a review) and subsequent seminal theoretical developments outlined in Wilson (1965) and Bradburn and Caplovitz (1965). The purpose of this review is to outline the theoretical and empirical advances in the study of friendship and happiness in more recent years among middle-aged adults, a particularly understudied group.

Defining Friendship and Happiness

The terms friendship and happiness warrant clarification and are defined here with a specific focus on their particular use in this discussion. First, friendship can be conceptualized as a voluntary relationship between two individuals, defined by Hays (1988) as a relationship designed to facilitate the socio-emotional goals of the participants (see also Demir and Weitekamp 2007; Fehr 1996). In other words, friendships are characterized by specific social functions or *provisions*, which characterize exactly *what* individuals are getting out of their relationships (Weiss 1974). Those provisions most central to friendship include social integration, companionship, help, intimacy, and self-validation (Cutrona 1986). Considered from a lifespan perspective, studies suggest that children, adolescents, middle-aged adults, and older adults alike tend to emphasize the importance of mutuality/reciprocity in describing an ideal friend (Weiss and Lowenthal 1975), but the actual exchanges that occur between friends change greatly with age (Hartup and Stevens 1997). This implies that although the subjective importance of mutuality in friendship remains fixed through the lifespan, the objective exchanges that occur vary across developmental stages.

The second construct that is a subject of this review is happiness, a term that encompasses an integrated state of experience often used interchangeably with well-being. The term subjective well-being draws from a hedonic philosophical tradition emphasizing the affective states associated with life satisfaction, namely the presence of positive affect, infrequent negative affect, and a global sense of satisfaction with life (see Miao et al. (2013) for a review). Specifically, factor analyses of the related Satisfaction with Life Scale reveal that happiness is inversely but modestly correlated with negative mood, suggesting that the mere absence of negative affect does not constitute happiness (Cacioppo et al. 2008; Diener et al. 1985). Much of the social support and health literature that forms the basis for this review also uses depressive symptomatology as a mental health outcome measure. Because interventions focused on increasing levels of well-being and happiness have been found to decrease levels of depressive symptoms (Sin and Lyubomirsky 2009), we include this literature in our review.

Theoretical Perspectives on Friendship and Happiness

Major theoretical advances are reviewed in this section, highlighting salient insights into the relationship between friendship and happiness among middle-aged adults in particular. The convoy model (Kahn and Antonucci 1982) proposes that attachments are made throughout the life span, and that friends and family are a part of a dynamic support system through time. Similar to the attachment framework that defines a secure base from which an infant sets out to explore and engage with their environment (Bowlby 1969), and consistent with Erikson's (1950) developmental theory highlighting the importance of intimacy in adult friendships, convoys can provide aid, support, and a safe haven (Antonucci et al. 2004). From a lifespan perspective, the convoy model predicts that even though convoys remain relatively stable, changing family and lifestyle positions are associated with subsequent changes in convoy membership. Growing numbers of close relations that expand in young and middle adulthood tend to shrink across late adulthood and old age (Antonucci et al. 2004).

Consistent with this curvilinear pattern predicted by the convoy model, Carstensen's (1991) socioemotional selectivity theory suggests that a sense of time plays a key role in motivation and emotion because mortality represents the ultimate constraint on time. Chronological age is associated with changes in goals, such that older adults prioritize emotional goals and minimize 'information' goals. As a result, as adults age they are more selective in their close relationships and consequently reduce the number of individuals with whom they sustain very close ties (Carstensen et al. 1999).

In a different stream of research, social capital and social support theory suggest that friendships are important to health and well-being because they create social capital (Glover and Parry 2008), leading to emotional support and instrumental action (e.g., access to information and resources). It may be that only friendships with socially well-adjusted persons constitute 'social capital;' otherwise, they might be a drain on resources (Hartup and Stevens 1997). The health-inducing and stress-buffering effects of such relationships suggest that friendship may be linked to health and well-being through connections to social support (Cohen and Wills 1985). For example, during stressful or negative life events, people (especially women) often turn to their friendships to gain social support, which may buffer the negative impact of stress (Ahern et al. 2004; Flaherty and Richman 1989; Walen and Lachman 2000). Finally, role identity theory suggests that whereas increased reliance on family threatens older adults' self-perceptions, friends are unique because they share historical context and exchange positive support during the most productive middle-age years. Therefore, friends can offer positive identity support (Siebert et al. 1999), particularly in midlife.

Scales to Measure Friendship and Happiness

Well-validated and widely-used scales have been central to the rapid advances in research on friendship and happiness. Among the more widely used scales of well-being include the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener et al. 1985) (Miao et al. 2013). Scales to assess positive social relations are similarly widely-validated, and include the Social Provisions Scale (SPS; Cutrona and Russell 1987) and the McGill Friendship Questionnaire (which assesses overall relationship quality) (Mendelson and Aboud 1999). Finally, scales commonly used to assess affective states include the UCLA Loneliness Scale, which is a widely-used measure of dissatisfaction in relationships characterized by a sense of isolation from others (Russell et al. 1980), the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale (CES-D; Radolff 1977), which is a measure of depressive symptoms, and the Positive and Negative Affect Scale, which assesses two general factors of positive and negative affectivity (PANAS; Watson et al. 1988).

Existing Research

As outlined above, midlife presents many unique challenges (e.g., working and parenting) that may have implications for the primacy of friendships for midlife adults' happiness. In general, we know that people who can name several intimate friends are happier than people who have few or no such friends (Cohen 1988; House et al. 1988), and that very happy people (compared to average and very unhappy people) are more social and have stronger romantic and other social relationships than less happy people (Diener and Seligman 2002). We also know that at least among older adults, having contact with friends is more strongly related to subjective well-being than is having contact with adult children (Pinquart and Sorensen 2000). However, and also as outlined above, the majority of research on the topic of friendships and happiness has been conducted with younger and/or older adults. Although some research shows that the effects of friend social support are uniform across the lifespan (Ishii-Kuntz 1990; Segrin 2003), what do we know specifically about friendship and happiness in midlife?

Siebert et al. (1999) found that among 826 preretirement respondents aged 58–64, the commitment to the role of friend was significant in predicting life satisfaction even after controlling for background variables. In fact, what these authors referred to as 'friendship identity meaning,' or the shared meaning one attributes to oneself in the role of friend, was the strongest predictor of life satisfaction in this sample (stronger even than income or marital status). Russell et al. (2012), in a sample of 705 adults ranging in age from 31–91, found that greater exposure to positive friend events (e.g., "I made a new friend or acquaintance") was related to reduced daily negative affect and higher levels of daily positive affect. Interestingly, these authors also found that middle-aged adults (i.e., adults under the age of 60),

were *more* strongly impacted by both positive and negative friend events than were older adults. In our own research using a pattern-centered approach to examine social relationships and well-being in a sample of late middle-aged individuals (in their 50s and 60s) (Fiori and Jager 2012), we found that those in friend-focused networks had the highest levels of cognitive functioning over time (compared to individuals in other types of networks). In sum, the research implies that friendships may be just as if not more important for the happiness of middle-aged adults than at other points of the lifespan. We turn now to the remaining limited body of research touching on friendship and happiness at midlife.

Friendship and Romantic Relationships Given that many middle-aged adults are married or in long-term serious relationships, it is not surprising that some research has focused on the role of friendship in the context of these romantic relationships. Although Demir (2010) found that the importance of friends for the happiness of emerging adults might be less pronounced or not pronounced at all when they are involved in a romantic relationship, in a sample of middle-aged adults relationship quality (as measured by loneliness) was still predictive of happiness above and beyond marital status (Cacioppo et al. 2008). Birditt and Antonucci (2007) found that among married participants aged 22–79 with best friends, having at least two high quality relations (not necessarily with the spouse) was associated with greater well-being (higher life satisfaction and self-esteem, and lower levels of depression). In contrast, among the married adults *without* best friends, the spousal relation was particularly important for well-being. These individuals may rely more on spouses for needed support, or may in fact view their spouse as their best friend. This is consistent with work by Carbery and Buhrmester (1998), who showed that reliance on friends to satisfy social needs among a sample of adults aged 20–35 is reduced during the 'marital phase.' In any case, these studies highlight the salience of friendships in midlife, even for the married, and the possibility that best friends may act as a 'buffer' against negative spousal relationships.

Friendship and Work/Volunteering Other research on friendships among middle-aged adults has focused on the role of friendships in the context of work and volunteering. For example, in a study of 459 male and female dual earner families, van Daalen et al. (2005) found that women reported receiving more social support from colleagues than men. Interestingly, men reported receiving more social support from their spouse, whereas women reported receiving more social support from relatives and friends. However, there were no gender differences in the effects of social support on health, psychological well-being, or life satisfaction. Pilkington et al. (2012) found that the subjective well-being associated with volunteering in a group of 561 middle-aged and older adults (55–94) was related to volunteers' more extensive friend and family networks. In fact, the availability of friends (as opposed to relatives or neighbors) was the most consistent mediator of the associations between volunteering and subjective well-being in this sample of adults. The authors speculated that volunteering likely promotes formations of new friendships, which in turn influence subjective well-being.

Friendship and Midlife Stressors Given the unique stressors faced by adults in midlife, it is perhaps not surprising that much of the research for this age group has come from a stress-buffering perspective. According to Cohen and Wills (1985), during stressful or negative life events, people (especially women) often turn to social support in order to buffer the negative impact of stress. Friendships may be an important source of social support for this age group. Cacioppo et al. (2008) investigated the correlates and determinants of happiness among participants in the Chicago Health, Aging, and Social Relations Study (CHASRS), which is a population-based longitudinal study of 229 English-speaking African Americans, Hispanic Americans, and European Americans aged 50–68 living in a large metropolitan area. Not surprisingly, they found that stress was negatively associated with happiness (both cross-sectionally *and* longitudinally), and that emotional support-seeking was positively related to happiness (which these authors viewed as an adaptive form of coping with stress). Interestingly, they found that loneliness, which they conceptualized as the 'opposite' of satisfaction with social relationships, was significantly negatively associated with happiness even *after* controlling for perceived stress, depressive symptoms, social support, and hostility. This association held true both cross-sectionally and longitudinally; Year 1 loneliness predicted decreases in happiness between Years 1 and 3, after controlling for age, gender, ethnicity, income, marital status, and chronic stress. The authors concluded that *satisfaction* with social relationships is the most robust predictor of happiness in this particular age group, and that the effects of this satisfaction clearly go beyond stress buffering. Although these researchers did not examine friendships per se, loneliness has been found to mediate the association between social interactions with friends and neighbors, in particular, and morale (Lee and Ishii-Kuntz 1987), implying that satisfaction with friendships may be particularly important for this age group.

Glover and Parry (2008) conducted a qualitative study of 32 women ranging in age from 30–53 to examine how friendships that develop subsequent to a stressful life event affect individual health and well-being. The stressful life event faced by all 32 women was infertility, a serious stressor faced primarily by middle-aged women (Gerrity 2001). Glover and Parry showed that friendship is positively associated with health during times of stress, primarily through supplying emotional support and improving access to resources. However, these authors also found that friendships can have negative consequences when they serve as an additional source of emotional stress (e.g., when infertile women must attend friends' baby showers).

Brown et al. (2000) examined the associations among life stress, social support, and well-being in a sample of 73 college-educated African-American women aged 18–51(with the majority (68 %) at midlife, between the ages of 31 and 50). These women reported experiencing common midlife stressors, including stress at work, inadequate finances, and health problems in the family. The authors found that perceived helpfulness of support was particularly important in buffering against the effects of stress on depression, whereas support had a positive effect on emotional health *regardless* of levels of stress. Interestingly, they also found that female friends were identified as the most helpful source of support for these women, regardless of whether they had a spouse or partner. Ingersoll-Dayton et al. (1997), in a probabil-

ity sample of middle-aged and older adults (50–95), found that although positive exchanges with social network members were associated with positive affect, and negative exchanges with negative affect, among those who had experienced more life events, the relationship between negative exchanges and negative affect was even stronger. In some ways then, although positive exchanges can buffer against the negative effects of stress, the negative effects of negative exchanges can actually be exacerbated under conditions of stress.

Relatedly, and as alluded to above, friends can also be a source of stress themselves, particularly for women. In a study of 705 adults aged 31–91, Russell et al. (2012) found that greater exposure to negative friend events (e.g., "A friend did not return a phone call") was related to higher daily negative affect. Major et al. (1997) found that during adjustment to a stressful life event (elective abortion), women (ages 14–40) who perceived high support from mothers or friends were more distressed if they also perceived them as sources of high conflict than if they perceived them as sources of low conflict. In contrast, among women who perceived their mothers or friends as nonsupportive, no relationship between conflict and distress was observed. Thus, support from a friend can buffer women against the negative effects of stress, but only if the friend is not also a source of conflict. Negative interactions or conflicts with friends can themselves act as stressors that require 'buffering.' Walen and Lachman (2000) found that friend and family supportive networks could buffer against the detrimental mental health effects of strained social interactions, but more for women than for men. In addition, these authors found that younger (25–39) and middle-aged (40–59) adults were *more* adversely affected by strained friend networks than were older adults. Thus, in terms of happiness, middle-aged adults, particularly women, may have as much to lose from friendships as they do to gain, and again may be more susceptible to the (positive and negative) effects of friendships than those at other points in the lifespan.

Gender Differences The research on friendship in midlife has focused predominantly on women and/or on gender differences, for which there is good reason. Research shows that in general, women have larger, denser, more supportive, and more diverse social networks than do men (Acitelli and Antonucci 1994; Antonucci 1994; Antonucci and Jackson 1987; Pugliesi and Shook 1998; Turner 1994; Umberson et al. 1996), that density impacts perceived adequacy of support for women, but not men (Haines et al. 2008), and that women are more likely to give and receive emotional support than men (Liebler and Sandefur 2002). Whereas women's relationships are more likely to depend on emotional closeness, men's relationships tend to focus more on shared activities (see Leavy 1983 for a review; Swain 1992). Furthermore, studies suggest that women are more likely than men to mobilize social support in times of stress (Belle 1983; Krause and Keith 1989; Walen and Lachman 2000). Research also shows that marriage bonds tend to be more central to the well-being of men than women (Dykstra and de Jong Gierveld 2004), implying that social support *outside* of the spousal relationship may be more important for women than men.

Taylor et al.'s (2000) theory suggests that the reason for these gender differences could stem from differing biobehavioral responses to stress in men and women. Whereas the traditional "fight-or-flight" response may characterize the stress responses of men, female responses may be better described by a pattern known as "tend-and-befriend." There is both evolutionary (attachment-caregiving system) and neuroendocrine (oxytocin) evidence to suggest that females are better served protecting their offspring and creating and maintaining social networks than they are fighting or fleeing in times of stress. This theory implies that nurturing behaviors may be more beneficial for women than men. Furthermore, such nurturing behaviors may be particularly prominent at mid-life, when women may be caring for both young children and aging parents.

Thus, it may be important to examine the differential nature of the association between friendship and happiness in men and women in midlife. Although some researchers have already examined the differential association between social support more generally and well-being, they have tended to use non-representative samples or contexts (e.g., Flaherty and Richman 1989; Hann et al. 2002; Rueda and Perez-Garcia 2006; van Daalen et al. 2005), and/or used measures of social support that tended to be very broad (e.g., Cheng and Chan 1994; Rueda and Perez-Garcia 2006) and/or confounded support from kin and non-kin (e.g., Seeman et al. 2002). Perhaps not surprisingly, the resulting findings are inconsistent. For example, whereas some studies show that social support benefits women and not men (e.g., Matud et al. 2002), others show that social support benefits men but not women (e.g., van Well et al. 2008), and still others find that social support operates similarly for women and men (e.g., Cheng and Chan 2006; Flaherty and Richman 1989; van Daalen et al. 2005).

In our recent work using a large homogenous sample ($N=6767$) of white, non-Hispanic American men and women aged 52–57 (Fiori and Denckla 2012), we uncovered interesting gender differences in the effects of the receipt and provision of support to and from kin and non-kin on depressive symptoms. Specifically, emotional support receipt was significantly negatively associated with depressive symptoms for women but not for men, and women seemed to benefit the most from emotional support received from *both* kin and non-kin. We also found that women who reported need in their network (either instrumental or emotional) reported fewer depressive symptoms than those who did not. This implies that simply *knowing* she is needed may be beneficial for a woman's mental health. Feeling needed may complement women's desires to be nurturant and thereby increase feelings of well-being.

In addition, women who reported providing support to both kin and non-kin had the lowest levels of depressive symptoms. According to Taylor et al. (2000), oxytocin, the production of which is disproportionately triggered in women compared to men when 'tending,' or caring for offspring, may serve both to calm the female in times of stress and promote further affiliative behaviors. It is conceivable that over time, the association between tending to kin and the calming effects of oxytocin

is manifested in an association between emotional support provided to kin and reduced depressive symptomatology (or even higher levels of happiness, although happiness was not explicitly examined in this particular study). However, in order for women to 'tend-*and*-befriend,' they need to not only 'tend' to kin (e.g., by providing emotional support to their adult children and their grandchildren), but also to 'befriend' non-kin (e.g., by providing emotional support to friends). According to Taylor et al.'s theory, it is just as essential to create and maintain networks beyond the family unit in order to garner support when needed (i.e., in times of stress).

However, this association was also significant for men; specifically, men who provided emotional support to both kin and non-kin had lower levels of depressive symptoms than men who provided such support only to kin. Unlike for women, however, providing emotional support to non-kin only was no different than providing to both kin and non-kin. Together, these findings imply that providing emotional support to non-kin may be particularly important for men's mental health. One potential explanation could be that the kin of these men may already be sufficiently emotionally supported by women in the network (e.g., their wives). Alternatively, perhaps friendships are particularly important among men. In their review of research on friendship and happiness, Demir et al. (2013) point out that although theory indicates that relationships might be more important for women's happiness, some of their own research suggests that at least for the specific case of friendship, the associations of friendship satisfaction and quality with happiness are similar across genders. In fact, Demir and Davidson (2013) found that although the associations of friendship experiences with happiness were generally similar across the sexes in a sample of college students, friendship experiences accounted for *more* variance in happiness among men when compared to women. Similarly, in a recent chapter by Saphire-Bernstein and Taylor (2013), they report on a study of young adults in which they found that whereas the quality of relationships with parents, siblings, close friends, and roommates was important for women's life satisfaction, only the quality of close friendships was important for men's.

Finally, in our study (Fiori and Denckla 2012), we found that women who provided instrumental support to kin *only* had higher levels of depressive symptoms than those who provided such support to non-kin only *or* to kin *and* non-kin. This finding may relate to the fact that family relationships are generally considered obligatory, whereas friend relationships are voluntary (Antonucci and Akiyama 1995); as such, whereas individuals may expect to receive emotional support from both kin and non-kin, they may be less likely to expect instrumental support from non-kin compared to kin (Felton and Berry 1992). Thus, unlike kin, the friends to whom these women are providing instrumental support may be particularly expressive of their appreciation, thereby boosting feelings of self-worth and efficacy in the female respondents. Otake et al. (2006) found that 'counting' kindnesses can increase levels of subjective happiness, particularly among people who are already happy. Perhaps having friends allows people (particularly women) to do favors/kindnesses that increase levels of happiness.

Limitations/Future Directions

It is clear that more research is needed exploring friendship and happiness in midlife, since much of the research on social support and well-being in adulthood has focused on young and/or older adults. Furthermore, much of the research has focused on women's friendships and/or on gender differences in social support and well-being. More research is needed exploring variations in men's friendships at midlife (Adams and Ueno 2006). Traditionally it is thought that men's relationships tend to focus more on shared activities than emotional closeness (see Leavy (1983) for a review; Swain 1992); but does that mean that friends are any less important for men's happiness than for women's? Demir et al.'s research (e.g., Demir and Davidson 2013) suggests that at least among college students, it is not. However, we know less about middle-aged adults, and it may be that we need to examine the intersection of age and gender in assessing the association between friendship and happiness (Demir et al. 2013). We know, for example, that the nature of friendship changes across the lifespan for both men and women; in midlife, men tend to have *more* friends than women, and they also have different perceptions about how friendships function (Adams and Ueno 2006). Thus, future research needs to investigate the role of gender differences in the association between friendship and happiness among middle-aged adults while taking the unique developmental challenges they face into account. It may also be that the association of friendship and well-being across the two sexes depends on the outcome examined; in our own research on middle-aged adults (Fiori and Denckla 2012; Fiori and Jager 2012), we focused primarily on depressive symptoms as an outcome. Perhaps a focus on happiness (e.g., positive affect) would reveal different findings. Furthermore, gender differences in the association might be further complicated by ethnicity; for example, unique friendship patterns among African American men have been uncovered (Franklin 1992), and it may be that friendships are particularly important for men of certain ethnic groups.

Thus, it is clear that researchers need to focus more on the moderators of the association between friendship and happiness at midlife. In addition to gender and ethnicity, it could also be that the successful resolution of developmental tasks (Arnett 2000; Erikson 1982) influences the strength of the association between relationship experiences and happiness (Demir et al. 2013). According to Erikson, the developmental challenge associated with midlife is 'generativity vs. stagnation.' Perhaps for those individuals who have successfully resolved (or at least made significant progress towards) this challenge, friendship will have a stronger effect on happiness. In contrast, those who are still struggling to feel generative may be less fulfilled by age-peers like friends and instead be focused on younger generations.

Relatedly, even within 'midlife,' age may act as a moderator of the association between friendship and happiness. 'Midlife' covers a very wide age range, and most of the research that has focused on adults in midlife has included this broad age range (e.g., 50–68 (Cacioppo et al. 2008); 22–79 (Birditt and Antonucci 2007)), and/or has also included adolescents, younger adults, and/or older adults without examining age as a moderator (e.g., 18–51(Brown et al. 2000); 14–40 (Major et al.

1997); 55–94 (Pilkington et al. 2012)). Even when age is examined as a moderator, as in Russell et al.'s (2012) study, the age range for 'middle-aged' can be large (e.g., in their original sample of adults aged 31–91, 'middle-aged' adults were considered as those ranging in age from 31–60; in a study by Walen and Lachman (2000), 'middle-aged' was considered 40–59). More research is needed that focuses on specific, smaller age ranges of a few years (e.g., 52–57, as in Fiori and Denckla's (2012) study, or 58–64, as in Siebert et al.'s (2012) study), and/or that compares midlife adults of different ages (since midlife generally spans such a large age range, e.g., 30–60). The effects of friendship on happiness for an individual in their 30's, who may be parenting young children and 'climbing the ladder of success' at work, may be very different than for an individual in their late 50's or early 60's, who may be nearing retirement and whose children are likely out of the house. Comparing midlife adults of different ages could contribute to the literature on friendship and happiness by providing more insight as to the role of developmental stage and life tasks in the association, particularly since we know that 'life events' can moderate the association between social exchanges and well-being (Ingersoll-Dayton et al. 1997).

Examining mediators of the association between friendship and happiness at midlife is also an important future research endeavor, since understanding the actual mechanisms through which friendships can increase well-being would be beneficial. No studies that we are aware of to date examine this issue specifically among middle-aged adults. Why might friendship increase levels of positive affect and life satisfaction at midlife? Reducing levels of loneliness is one possibility; loneliness has been found to mediate the association between social interactions with friends and morale among older adults (Lee and Ishii-Kuntz 1987), and between positive and negative social exchanges and positive well-being in college students (Fiori and Consedine 2013). Whether this might also be the case for middle-aged adults is still an unanswered question. Other potential contenders include the satisfaction of basic psychological needs (Demir and Özdemir 2010) and perceived mattering (Demir et al. 2011), which have both been shown to mediate the association among younger adults. Cross-cultural studies on the topic are also sorely needed. According to Arnett (2008), the focus of American psychology on primarily American populations is entirely too narrow, given that Americans comprise only about 5 % of the world's population. Furthermore, there appear to be cultural differences both in social relations and the impact of social relations on well-being, highlighting the importance of studying social relationships in different cultural contexts. Although the field of social relations and mental health among *older* adults has expanded in recent years to include not only research on non-American populations (e.g., Cheng et al. 2009) but also comparative research across cultures (e.g., Fiori et al. 2008), very little research has specifically addressed the association between friendship and happiness among *middle-aged* adults in a cross-cultural context. Although Lu (1995) found that social support was related to higher happiness in a sample of 581 Chinese adults (20+) living in Taiwan, the research did not specifically address friendship and was not comparative. There are both empirical and theoretical reasons to suspect that the association between friendship and happiness at midlife

might vary culturally. For example, unlike in the United States, it appears that in Japan contact with friends does not always lead to reduced depressive symptoms (Sugisawa et al. 2002).

Some cultural differences (e.g., the fact that the networks of Israelis tend to be smaller than American networks and show fewer family members) could be due to histories of immigration or war (Antonucci 1990). Other differences may be more closely linked with differing sociocultural values and concepts of relationships. For example, in North America, friends are made easily but are not always intimate, whereas in Europe (e.g., Germany), people are slower to confide and disclose, but friendships tend to be intimate and long-lasting (Rokach et al. 2000). According to Höllinger and Haller (1990), the fact that Americans tend to have many more friends than Germans could be due to these different sociocultural concepts of friendship (i.e., Americans tend to define the concept in a wider and more casual way than do people in other nations). Similarly, relationship goals may differ between individuals in the US and those in eastern cultures, like Japan. In the US the goal of self-disclosure may be key since connection is not readily afforded and trust is paramount, whereas in Japan relationship goals may focus on the mutual fulfillment of complementary obligations (Adams et al. 2004). Thus, for example, whereas emotional support may be a defining feature of friendship in independent cultures, the exchange of instrumental support among friends may be more accepted in interdependent cultures. More work is needed to determine if these varying understandings of friendships across cultures translate to different implications for happiness at midlife.

Finally, the direction of effects is important to investigate further. Could it be that satisfying friendships make people happy, or are happy people more likely to perceive or develop satisfying friendships? Both Adams (1988) and Lyubomirsky et al. (2005) have shown that good psychological well-being and positive affect can actually cause an increase in friendship activity. Similarly, Cacioppo et al. (2008) found that controlling for Year 1 loneliness, Year 1 happiness *did* predict lower levels of loneliness in Year 3, implying a likely reciprocal relationship between relationships and happiness. In addition to longitudinal research, however, creative experimental work is needed to get at true cause and effect. For example, a simple experiment could be designed to show that friends have a positive effect on mood while doing everyday tasks, by bringing participants into a lab and having them work on a boring task (e.g., filing papers) either with a confederate or with a friend, and measuring mood before and after.

In addition to clarifying the direction of effects, future research should provide a definition of friendship to participants before assessing their friendship experiences. For example, it may be important to include a distinction between same- and cross-sex friendships (Demir et al. 2013; Swain 1992; Winstead et al. 1997). Such a distinction is especially important among middle-aged adults because this particular developmental stage is characterized by complex and variable relationships informed by multiple role demands (e.g. parenting, working, and caring for elderly parents) which influence outcomes in specific ways (Lachman 2004).

Related to this final point, the theoretical and associated empirical findings reviewed thus far emphasize associations among happiness and relationship quality based on the assumption that social relationships and well-being mutually inform one another. However, Lucas et al. (2006, 2008) have argued that the role of close relationships in happiness may be overstated, and they identify several limitations in the existing research that are important to take into account. Among the identified limitations include shared method variance (e.g., the use of self-report measures to assess both relationship satisfaction and life satisfaction) resulting in inflated estimates of effect sizes, and lack of evidence for the comparatively larger effect for social relationships when compared with other factors (e.g. income, health).

Although methodological concerns suggest that objective measures of social support and happiness have moderate effect sizes, firm conclusions cannot be drawn without further research on moderators of this association because findings suggest that the strength of this association depends on the type of social support exchanged, gender, and the nature of the relationship between the provider and the recipient of that social support (e.g. Fiori and Denckla 2012). Our review suggests that moderators of the association between happiness and relationship quality such as gender, age, and other individual difference factors are critical to consider before drawing conclusions about the strength of the association between close relationships and happiness (see also Saphire-Bernstein and Taylor 2013; Demir and Davidson 2013; Demir et al. 2013).

Practical Implications

As stated throughout this review, the lack of research on friendship and happiness in midlife limits the extent to which practical implications can be drawn from the literature. However, a few observations are warranted based on the preliminary results reviewed to this point. First, given the emerging evidence suggesting that both the context and the specific type of social support exchanged influence well-being, clinical mental health interventions might benefit from specificity when targeting increases in social support as part of a comprehensive treatment. For example, our findings (Fiori and Denckla 2012) suggest that certain types of social exchanges may be associated with increases in depressive symptomatology, pointing toward the importance of sensitivity to the influence of context and gender on the effects of social support. Second, the potential negative effects of friendships (e.g., Major et al. 1997; Russell et al. 2012) must be taken into account when developing interventions to increase positive well-being, particularly among middle-aged adults for whom friendships might pose unique stressors (Glover and Parry 2008). In sum, it is clear that friendships are important for middle-aged adults' happiness, although more research is needed to determine the specific contexts in which friendships promote versus hinder happiness in this age group.

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Friendship and Happiness in the Third Age

Rebecca G. Adams and Emily M. Taylor

Research relevant to understanding the relationship between friendship and happiness among older adults has generally been situated in a broad theoretical literature on well-being in old age. This theoretical literature has evolved over the years, but most of the ideas developed subsequently and the relevance of friendship to happiness were implicit, if not always explicit, in Havighurst and Albrecht's (1953) original statement of Activity Theory in their book, *Old People,* and in Havighurst's (1961) editorial in the first issue of *The Gerontologist*. In this latter publication, Havighurst laid the groundwork not only for Activity Theory, but also for what has since become known as Continuity Theory (Atchley 1989). He also defined "successful aging" (see Rowe and Kahn 1987, 1997) for the first time and foreshadowed elaborations of Continuity Theory by discussing ongoing "competence" (see Lawton and Nahemow 1973; Wahl 2001) and implying the importance of "adaptation" for successful aging (see Baltes and Lang 1997).

According to Havighurst and Albrecht (1953), the aging individual should compensate for role losses associated with aging, such as retirement or the death of a spouse, by increasing activities in other areas; friendship is a voluntary activity in our society, so it represents such an opportunity. In his role as the founding editor of *The Gerontologist*, Havighurst (1961) further argued that gerontologists should research and promote "successful aging" or the "maximization of satisfaction and happiness" for all age groups and segments of society (p. 8). In this statement, he refers to friendship as an "intangible good" with no "arbitrary limits to its production" and therefore available to older adults as a way to remain active. Building on earlier work encouraging gerontologists to focus on establishing the distinction between normal and successful aging as non-pathologic states rather than on establishing the distinction between pathological and normal aging (Rowe and Kahn 1987), Rowe and Kahn (1997) later elaborated on Havighurst's definition of "successful aging." They described it not only as "the absence of disability and disease and high cognitive functioning," but also, in keeping with Havighurst's reference

R. G. Adams (✉)· E. M. Taylor
University of North Carolina at Greensboro, Greensboro, USA
e-mail: r_adams@uncg.edu

to the opportunity to develop friendships to offset role loss, as "active engagement in society" (p. 433).

In this same 1961 editorial, Havighurst critiqued Disengagement Theory, which, in contrast to Activity Theory, posited that a mutual withdrawal of the individual and society contributed to successful aging (Cumming and Henry 1961). Although Havighurst noted that "there is no doubt that disengagement does take place with aging," he also observed that "the proponents of Activity Theory regard this as a result of withdrawal by society from the aging person, against the will and desire of the person" (p. 9). He argued that in contrast to activity theorists, disengagement theorists viewed the process "as natural" and "the aging person accepting and desiring it" (p. 9). Furthermore, laying the foundation for Atchley's (1989) formal statement of Continuity Theory, which has since informed most ensuing theoretical developments in this area, Havighurst (1961) described successful aging as the "[m]aintenance of middle-age activity" and states that it "may be defined as maintenance of the level and range of activities that characterize a person in his prime of life with a minimum downward adjustment" (p. 10).

Building on the foundation provided by Havighurst, Atchley (1989) described "continuity" as "a grand adaptive strategy that is promoted by both individual preference and social approval" (p. 183). In contrast to Disengagement Theory, which had fallen out of favor along with most other functionalist theories by 1989, he argued that

> … in making adaptive choices, middle-aged and older adults attempt to preserve and maintain existing internal and external structures; and they prefer to accomplish this objective by using strategies tied to their past experiences of themselves and their social world. Change is linked to the person's perceived past, producing continuity in inner psychological characteristics as well as in social behavior and in social circumstances" (p. 183).

Since then, gerontologists have continued to focus on the importance of adaptation as part of the process of successful aging. Like Havighurst (1961), who defined "success" as "competent behavior in the common social roles of worker, spouse, homemaker, citizen, friend, association member, and church member" and assessed performance of older adults in these roles as compared to societal norms as a measure of successful aging, more recent gerontologists have focused on the relation between the person and the environment and the goodness of fit between them. Goodness of fit is sometimes achieved through adaptation of the individual (Baltes and Lang 1997), modifications to the environment (Lawton and Nahemow 1973; Wahl 2001), or the older adult's identification of and relocation to new environments more suitable for an aging individual (Kahana 1982).

Measuring Friendship and Happiness among Older Adults

Gerontologists who have examined the relationship between friendship and happiness have thus framed their research using a variety of theories of successful aging, by whatever name, or at least have been informed by many distinct theoretical and

empirical elaborations of Havighurst's original idea. Sometimes a study is designed primarily and intentionally to examine the relationship between these concepts or related ones, and other times relevant findings are buried amongst others more central to the focus of the research. Furthermore, depending on the time period or their theoretical inclinations, gerontologists have used a slightly different vocabulary or measured slightly different concepts. Some of these researchers have explicitly measured friendship or happiness, but most have measured only related or more general concepts instead. As a result, identifying the empirical literature on the relationship between friendship and happiness required that a broad net be cast and that we be satisfied with a less than comprehensive search. Our search for literature on the relationship between friendship (or a related concept) and happiness (or a related concept) ultimately yielded 25 articles. Despite our efforts, we know we missed many articles because we continued to notice additional ones referenced in the publications we did find. Although some of the studies we identified are multimethod (e.g., Mathieu 2008), none of them are purely qualitative. For these reasons, the following synthesis of the research on the relationship between friendship and happiness during the third age should be considered illustrative instead of comprehensive and suggestive rather than definitive.

Although some studies of younger age groups explicitly measure both "friendship" and "happiness" (e.g., Demir and Davidson 2013), we did not find any such studies of older adults. The 25 studies we review thus include those with a direct measure happiness and at least one measure of a concept related to friendship, at least one measure of a concept related to happiness and at least one direct measure of friendship, or at least one measure of a concept related to each.

The measures of friendship or related concepts included in these studies are sometimes social psychological (i.e., quality of friendships) and other times focus on process or are social structural (i.e., including the quantity of friendship activity and number of friends; Adams and Blieszner 1989; Adams and Blieszner 1994). Social psychological measures of friendship and related concepts include the perceived importance of friendship (Sui and Phillips 2002), satisfaction with social relationships (Albert et al. 2010), perceived social relations (Baldassare et al. 1984), perceived social support (Cummings 2002; Fitzpatrick et al. 2008), perceived emotional support (Patrick et al. 2001), sense of belonging to a community (Theurer and Wister 2010), and need to belong (Stevens et al. 2006). Many of the social structural and process measures of concepts related to friendship focus on some aspect of social support including: reciprocity of support (Wrzus et al. 2012), social and instrumental support (Aday et al. 2012), social support network structure (Bowling and Browne 1991), size of support network (Stephens and Bernstein 1984; Thomas 2010), and number of types of support (Thomas 2010). Fiori et al. (2007) measured most of these social support variables and others using the social network mapping technique Antonucci (1986) developed. Various other structural and process measures of friendship capture the presence of friends or the extent of interaction with them, including social isolation (Chappell and Badger 1989), loneliness (Lee and Ishii-Kuntz 1987), closeness of friends (Albert et al. 2010; Wrzus et al. 2012), presence of a confidant (Keith et al. 1984), number of friends or size of network (Adams

1988; Chan and Lee 2006), number of close friends (Adams 1988; Theurer and Wister 2010), number of local friends (Adams 1988), development of new friends (Cook 2006), contact with friends (Adams 1988; Blieszner 1995; Johnson and Troll 1994; Sui and Phillips 2002; Wrzus et al. 2012), online contact with friends (Parks et al. 2012), and social activity participation (Aday et al. 2012; Graney 1975; Mathieu 2008; Osberg et al. 1987).

Not only do the measures of friendship included in these studies vary, because in our society friendship lacks cultural and structural definition (Adams 1989; Allan 2010), the way people define "friendship" varies as well. Some people use the term "friend" to include mere acquaintances and others use narrower definitions (Adams 1989), and some people use it to refer exclusively to non-kin and others include relatives (Demir et al. 2013). Researchers who study college students recommend that "researchers provide participants with an easy to understand definition that specifies the criteria against which to identify a friend" (p. 865). Their concern is that their participants vary in whether they named romantic partners and siblings as friends. In contrast, researchers who study friendships among older adults have recommended and have demonstrated a commitment to understanding the way in which people define and use the term "friend" by engaging in more inductive studies (e.g., Adams et al. 2000). Their concern has been that *a priori* definitions of friendship limit studies to a subtype of friendship and that any definition would not address all possible sources of variation in meaning (Adams 1989).

It is possible the differences in these recommendations reflect the differences in the ages of those studied. Although the studies are now dated and the specific information mentioned here has never been published, two studies of older adults suggest that, unlike college students (Demir et al. 2013), older adults rarely list siblings or romantic partners as friends (i.e., the studies reported in Adams 1988, and Blieszner 1995). In fact, results published from the earliest of these studies suggest that older women do not often even consider men as friends—only a fifth of the women named a male friend (Adams 1985). Of course, these studies were conducted a long time ago. Even back in 1985 it was clear that norms would probably shift (Adams 1985). Nonetheless, we were able to identify only one study to include in this review that examines cross-sex friendships (Keith et al. 1984), and it was also conducted in the mid-eighties. Another possible reason for this difference in perspective between researchers of different stages of life is that as people age their conceptions of friendship become more complex (Weiss and Lowenthal 1975), and thus providing a simple definition to resonate with participants would be more challenging when studying older adults.

The studies included in this review not only vary in terms of how friendship is measured but also by whether they include a measure of happiness per se (Chan and Lee 2006; Graney 1975; Theurer and Wister 2010) or a related measure. The related measures include: affect balance or positive affect (Adams 1988; Blieszner 1995; Johnson and Troll 1994; Parks et al. 2012; Patrick et al. 2001; Sui and Phillips 2002; Thomas 2010), life satisfaction (Aday et al. 2012; Albert et al. 2010; Cummings 2002; Keith et al. 1984; Mathieu 2008; Osberg et al. 1987; Stephens and Bernstein 1984), morale (Lee and Ishii-Kuntz 1987); and emotional, self-reported, subjective,

or psychological well-being (Baldassare et al. 1984; Bowling and Browne 1991; Chappell and Badger 1989; Cook 2006; Fiori et al. 2007; Fitzpatrick et al. 2008; Wrzus et al. 2012).

The Relationship Between Friendship and Happiness Among Older Adults

Note that whatever the measure of friendship or related concept and whatever the measure of happiness or related concept, researchers have always found the correlation between them to be positive. If this finding were not consistent across studies, the absence of replications of studies using the same measures would make it difficult to summarize and interpret this literature. Given the overall consistency of findings despite the lack of consistency of measurement, however, it is clear that this positive association transcends measurement issues and this general finding is robust.

Since the late 1970s when Larson (1978) summarized the then 30 years of research on subjective well-being, it has been clear that not only is the relationship between friendship activity and psychological well-being positive, the relationship is stronger than the positive relationship between family activity and psychological well-being. Although it would be possible to reference many studies from the 1960s (e.g., Pihlblad and McNamara 1965) and beyond to support this statement, it is more parsimonious to cite a meta-analysis synthesizing findings from 286 studies which confirms that frequency of contact with friends is more closely related to subjective well-being than frequency of contact with family members (Pinquart and Sorenson 2000). *Ad hoc* explanations for the positive relationship between friendship activity and happiness are rarely offered, presumably because the relationship is expected based on theories of successful aging, but *ad hoc* explanations of the greater strength of the friendship-happiness connection compared to the family-happiness connection provide some insight into this robust bivariate correlation as well. One obvious explanation for the difference in the strength of the correlations is Dykstra's (1990) finding that the quality of relationships between friends is often higher than the quality of relationships with adult children. The question is "why?" Unlike family relationships, friendships are voluntary. Interaction with family members is often dictated by obligation, whereas interaction with friends is primarily motivated by pleasure (Pinquart and Sorenson 2000). Because friendships are not structurally determined as family relationships and neighbor relationships are (Allan 2010), it is possible to select people as friends who are similar in statuses, roles, and values, and therefore are in a good position to offer emotional support and advice (Litwak 1989). Although some friendships certainly involve negative exchanges, because friendships are voluntary in most societies (Cohen 1961), problematic friendships can be ended or, more typically, allowed to fade away (Blieszner and Adams 1998). So because friendship is voluntary, relationship quality is relatively high, interactions and shared activities are more likely to be enjoyable, friends are well-

positioned to offer emotional support, and if all else fails, a friendship is easy to end. These characteristics of friendship suggest plausible explanations for the positive relationship between friendship and happiness itself.

Unfortunately, very few of the studies included in this literature review empirically examine mediators and moderators of the relationship between friendship and happiness. Similarly, although some of the studies reviewed here include both social and psychological measures of friendship, none of them were designed specifically to examine whether social psychological measures of friendship (i.e., perceptions of quality) or process and structural measures of friendship (i.e., quantity) are better predictors of happiness. Although in the late 1970's, and through the 1980's, it appeared that a coherent literature on friendship during old age was emerging, the more recent literature cited here was not authored by a community of friendship scholars interested in understanding its relationships with happiness, but by researchers interested in related topics for a variety of theoretical reasons. Furthermore, unlike friendship researchers who study college students (e.g., Demir and Özdemir 2010; Demir et al. 2011), those who study older adults have focused more on friendship as an outcome than as a predictor of happiness, possibly because they are more interested in the tangible social support provided by friends to older adults than the less tangible effects that social relationships have on psychological well-being.

Future Directions

The literature clearly demonstrates that friendship and happiness are positively related, but the lack of replications using the same measures, the absence of studies of mediators and moderators of this positive relationship, and the failure of older adult researchers to examine the relative effect of social psychological and process or structural measures of friendship on happiness, as well as other study design issues, make it difficult to state other more complex and detailed generalizations about the literature with confidence. These other study design issues, discussed in greater detail below, include issues regarding the nature of populations, size and quality of samples, lack of studies including comparisons across geographically-distinct populations and population subgroups, and a scarcity of longitudinal studies. These same general study design issues have plagued the research on friendship for decades (Blieszner 1989).

Large, National, Probability Samples

Friendship research in general, and research focusing on the relationship between friendship activity and happiness in particular, would benefit from the collection of data from large, national probability samples–large so variation can be examined,

national so findings from special purpose studies do not dominate our understanding of friendship in the United States, and probability so generalizations can be stated with confidence. Of the 25 studies cited in this chapter that examine the relationship between a measure related to friendship and a measure related to happiness, five of them are based on sample sizes of greater than 1000. These include studies based on Fischer's (1982) Northern California data (Baldassare et al. 1984), of older workers in a Midwestern state (Keith et al. 1984), of older adults in Washington state (Lee and Ishii-Kuntz 1987), based on the Canadian General Social Survey (Theurer and Wister 2010), and of adults identified online as happiness seekers who subsequently purchased an app for their iPhones and completed a survey (Parks et al. 2012). All of these studies are based on probability samples except the latter one, which takes advantage of recent developments in smart phone technology to collect data on emotions and reactions to them as they are experienced. Note that although none of these studies is a national study of older adults in the United States where most other research on this topic has taken place, one of them is a national study of Canadians. The only other national study referenced in this chapter (Thomas 2010) is based on data from the Social Networks in Adult Life survey ($N=689$) conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan (Kahn and Antonucci 1980). Most of the 25 studies discussed in this chapter are based on small regional, local, or specialized samples and were designed for purposes other than the study of the relationship between friendship and happiness.

Comparisons Across Geographically-Distinct Populations and Population Subgroups

Twenty years ago, hardly any studies of friendship and well-being had been conducted outside of the United States. Research in this area continues to focus mainly on United States subpopulations, but research on the relationship between friendship and happiness in other countries has become more common. The studies mentioned here include two conducted in Canada (Fitzpatrick et al. 2008; Theurer and Wister 2010), two in China (Chan and Lee 2006; Sui and Phillips 2002), three in Germany (Albert et al. 2010; Fiori et al. 2007; Wrzus et al. 2012), and one in England (Bowling and Browne 1991). Additional studies have undoubtedly been conducted in other countries as well. None of the studies included here are comparative, however. Furthermore, many of the authors do not even speculate about contextual effects so the contribution of international studies to furthering our understanding of the relationship between friendship and happiness is still limited.

The authors of two studies are exceptions. In discussing the similarity of their findings from their two studies involving German adults between 30 and 86 years old to those of studies conducted on similar populations in other countries, Wrzus et al. (2012) "do not assume" their "findings are specific to German friendships and social networks" (p. 478). Although, in their study of older adults in Beijing and Hong Kong, Chan and Lee (2006) did not speculate about international effects, they

did find differences across the two cities which they speculate can be explained by "the differences between socialist Beijing and capitalist Hong Kong in degrees of modernization and urbanization and in social organization of work and community life" (p. 87). One could extend their explanation to address any differences between their Beijing findings and findings from studies conducted in capitalist countries.

Similarly, our literature search did not reveal any recent studies comparing findings about the relationship between friendship and happiness in rural and urban areas. One exception is a study Baldassare et al. (1984) conducted, but the data were collected four decades ago and were limited to Northern California (Fischer 1982). Other studies of urban areas, such as a Boston study of disabled elderly adults (Osberg et al. 1987), were not focused on contextual effects at all and, as such, the context was a convenience rather than essential to the study design. In contrast, in Patrick et al. (2001) study of older men and women living in Northern Appalachia in West Virginia, context was important to their interpretation of data. The authors note, for example, that "[t]he challenges of a rural environment may exert more negative effects among women than they do upon men" (p. 16). In the absence of studies comparing urban and rural findings, hypothesizing contextual explanations is at least be a step in the right direction.

We could find no studies comparing the relationship between friendship activity and happiness for those who live independently to those who do not, but we did find a couple studies focusing exclusively on assisted living facilities (Cummings 2002; Street et al. 2007; Patrick et al. 2001). Both of these studies focus on the characteristics of the environment that facilitate or discourage friendship activity among increasingly frail older adults. Conducting studies in other environments, such as skilled nursing facilities, naturally occurring retirement communities, and age-segregated communities, and comparing results across them may suggest other possibilities.

Although comparative studies across geographically distinct contexts (e.g. international, urban vs. urban, independent living vs. other living arrangements) or ethnic groups are rare, comparisons of the findings about the relationship between friendship and happiness across male and female subpopulations within samples are more common. So for example, not only can we learn about gender differences by comparing findings across studies of women (Graney 1975; Johnson and Troll 1994; Sui and Phillips 2002) and of men (Keith et al. 1984), but also from studies including both genders (Baldassare et al. 1984; Chan and Lee 2006; Cummings 2002; Fitzpatrick et al. 2008; Patrick et al. 2001).

Longitudinal Studies

Perhaps the greatest need for future research on the relationship between friendship and happiness is for longitudinal studies including measures of both concepts as well as of age. As reflected in the order of the listing of concepts in the titles of the articles referenced here, most researchers make an assumption that friendship

affects happiness rather than vice versa. Titles such as "Friendship processes and well-being" (Blieszner 1995), "Social networks, health, and emotional well-being" (Bowling and Browne 1991), and "Network size, social support, and happiness in later life" (Chan and Lee 2006) all reflect this assumption about the causal ordering of variables. This assumption is not surprising given that the theory guiding much of this research has focused on successful aging rather than on the development of social networks.

Recent work suggests, however, that happiness could lead to an increase in friendship activity rather than the reverse (Lyubomirsky et al. 2005). Two very small, old, short-term longitudinal studies also suggest this alternative interpretation and the more likely alternative that the relationship between friendship and happiness might be reciprocal rather than unidirectional (Adams 1988; Graney 1975). Without longitudinal data on larger samples over a longer period of time, it is unlikely this theoretical framing will be challenged.

Furthermore, in the context of some recent research (Stone et al. 2010) a study which would allow for the specification of the relationships among age, friendship activity, and happiness does seem warranted. Stone et al. (2010) recently demonstrated that happiness declines steadily during young adulthood, but after about age 50, people become increasingly happier with age. These findings have been replicated over the lifespan, over a period of 40 years, in dozens of countries, and for a wide range of well-being measures. The reasons for this U-bend in happiness are still unclear, but recent evidence that the same pattern exists among the great apes as among humans (Weiss et al. 2012), as well as the consistency of the findings across human cohorts and contexts, suggest that the explanation is probably biological or psychological rather than sociological. A sociological explanation is unlikely because it would have to apply universally or at least to all of the contexts in which the U-bend in happiness has been identified.

So how does friendship activity fit into this picture? As discussed throughout this chapter, findings regarding the existence of a positive relationship between friendship activity and happiness during old age are robust. Furthermore, although based exclusively on one of the same small longitudinal studies cited above, we know some people increase their friendship activity during old age relative to middle age and others decrease it (Adams 1987), a meta-analysis of 277 studies with 177,635 participants suggests that on the average, friendship activity declines with age (Wrzus et al. 2013). Examining cross-sectional studies and comparing number of friends across age groups suggests friendship activity remains fairly stable across the life course, but no data suggest that it increases on the average with age (Blieszner and Adams 1992). So assuming friendship activity remains constant throughout the third age, the increase in happiness as people age would be entirely attributable to other factors. If friendship activity decreases throughout the third age, then these other factors must also have a strong enough positive effect on happiness to offset the negative impact of a decrease in friendship activity. Biologists argue that one relevant factor is deterioration in the frontal lobe beginning in midlife, which increases optimism (Sharot 2011, 2012). Psychologists argue that because the old know they are closer to death, they focus on things that are important in the

moment and less on long-term goals and are therefore happier than younger people (Cartensen et al. 1999). These hypotheses are consistent with recent analyses that suggest that the positive relationship between friendship and happiness may not be as strong as suggested in the literature and is the result of shared variance (Lucas et al. 2008). Longitudinal studies including measures of age, friendship activity, and happiness, as well as other potentially relevant biological, psychological, and sociological factors, are clearly needed to resolve this interdisciplinary debate.

Practical Implications

Whether the common interpretation of the causal direction of the relationship between friendship and happiness is accurate or alternatively that the relationship between friendship and happiness is reciprocal, and whether friendship activity remains constant or decreases as people age, the studies we review here suggest that interventions to enhance friendship activity during the later years should lead to higher levels of happiness among older adults. Friendships interventions can be designed to affect individuals by improving their cognitive and social functioning, dyads by enhancing partner interaction, networks by altering group relationships, immediate environments by manipulating relationships in every day places, communities by designing them to facilitate relationships, and societies through the development of social policies designed to support social relationships (Adams and Blieszner 1993). In general, as a society, however, we tend to think of friendship as entirely voluntary and as the responsibility of the individual (Adams 1989), not as a focus for policy or practice intervention. Perhaps this way of thinking is the reason that in a fairly extensive discussion of interventions to increase successful aging, Depp et al. (2012) did not mention the manipulation of friendship or even of social relationships as a possibility. Similarly, it is not surprising that very few of the authors of the 25 studies we discuss in this chapter recommended interventions. Rather than studying national populations or even communities, the researchers who were most likely to make practical suggestions studied the immediate environments in which older adults sometimes spend time or even live, such as senior centers (Aday et al. 2012; Fitzpatrick et al. 2008), assisted living facilities (Cook 2006; Street et al. 2007), and long-term care facilities (Cook 2006). Given that staff members in such organizations and at such institutions consider their clients' well-being as their responsibility, these studies were probably designed with interventions in mind whereas research designed to be conducted at levels more remote from the individual would be more likely to be designed to contribute to theoretical development.

Although the authors of these 25 studies including measures of concepts related to both friendship activity and happiness did not suggest interventions at other levels to enhance friendship, other friendship researchers have done so. For example, based on their findings from a study of social support in three urban areas in London, Phillips et al. (2000) recommended interventions be designed at the

community level. The authors point out that policies need to acknowledge that people have lifelong friends who may be as important to them as kin, particularly when family members do not live nearby. Recognizing that social workers do not usually intervene directly into social lives, Phillips and her colleagues also recommend that social workers should be aware of the patterns of both informal and formal social support networks characteristic of a catchment area because such awareness can lead to a realization that communities have different service needs. In an article based on data from the NESTOR-LSN survey (3229 adults aged 55–89 years in the Netherlands) and from a subset of the Northern California Community Study (22 adults aged 55–91 years in the United States), Gierveld and Perlman (2006) found that the number of years since an older adult had relocated was a strong correlate of relationship duration and suggested that programs that minimized the impact of such moves, perhaps by making it easier for people to visit each other after relocation, would be helpful. One example they provided was reduced bus fares in nonpeak hours, which in the Netherlands helps people living in different areas to maintain relationships.

Conclusions

When Rebecca Adams met with Emeritus Professor Robert Havighurst in the 1970's to discuss her dissertation research on the role of friendship among elderly women (Adams 1983), he struck her as a humble man, as he expressed disbelief that anyone who had been retired as long as he had would have something to contribute. Ironically, in the third age of her own academic career, by rereading the editorial (Havighurst 1961) that originally led her to contact him while she was in graduate school, she has been reminded that it is his vision that gerontologists have been working to achieve for more than 50 years.

In this chapter, we have examined the research related to only one of the many potential lines of investigation implied in his editorial. Indeed, as Activity Theory predicted so many years ago, friendship and happiness are positively related, and thus the role of friendship provides a viable alternative to adults who have experienced role losses associated with aging.

The work of friendship researchers to help fulfill Havighurst's vision is not finished, however. Despite his role in the development of theories of successful aging, his ultimate goal for the science of gerontology was applied—to add life to the years during the third age, or in other words, to help people to enjoy and get satisfaction from life. Unlike some more contemporary scholars, he appreciated that theory, research, and practice are synergistic and inform each other. He observed that in order to provide good advice to individuals and society, "it is essential that gerontology have a theory of successful aging" (p. 8). He further observed that a choice between Activity Theory and Disengagement Theory should be based on evidence about whether "older people who remain fully engaged are more or less successful than those who are disengaged" (p. 9). All that was required, he said, was "an operational

definition of successful aging and a method of measure the degree to which people fit this definition" (p. 9). From the current vantage point five decades later, his comment that "this has not proved easy" seems like an understatement (p. 9). Although Disengagement Theory was dismissed long before most of the research on successful aging was conducted, gerontologists continue to refine the operational definition of successful aging, and our understanding of the forces that affect the well-being of older adults continues to evolve.

Gerontologists focusing on many other aspects of successful aging have recommended, designed, and implemented interventions into the aging process at all levels, but friendship researchers have been more likely to recommend interventions into the immediate social environments in which older adults live than at levels more remote from the individual. It is very clear in his editorial by his focus on societal responsibility that Havighurst would think that friendship researchers still have work to do in the area of national social policy. In order to contribute to the achievement of his vision and more specifically to the development of policies that would support successful aging throughout society, gerontologists must encourage interventions to support opportunities for older adults to continue or increase their participation in the friendship role as they age. For this reason, large, national probability samples need to be studied over a sufficiently long period of time to ensure that we understand the relationships among aging, friendship activity, and happiness, and therefore, any advice we give based on the available evidence is more likely to be good.

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Cross-sex Friendship and Happiness

Amanda D. Procsal, Melikşah Demir, Aysun Doğan, Ayça Özen and Nebi Sümer

Friendship plays a key role in the lives of individuals and is an important correlate of happiness across different ethnic, age, and cultural groups (Demir et al. 2013b). Specifically, research has indicated that various aspects of friendship (e.g., number of friends, support, overall friendship quality, friendship satisfaction; Chan and Lee 2006; Hussong 2000; Holder and Coleman 2009) and relationship specific experiences (e.g., perceived mattering, satisfaction of basic psychological needs; Demir and Davidson 2013) are positively associated with individual happiness. However, it is important to note that while the positive association between friendship and happiness has been consistently supported in the literature, research investigating the friendship-happiness link has either focused on same-sex friendships or has not specified the type of friendship being investigated (e.g., Cheng and Furnham 2002; Demir and Özdemir 2010). As a result, the degree to which cross-sex friendships are associated with happiness is unknown.

Cross-sex friendship, similar to same-sex friendship, is defined as "a nonromantic, nonfamilial, personal relationship between a man and a woman. The relationship is nonromantic in the sense that its function is purely dissociated from courtship rites by the actors involved." (O'Meara 1989, p. 526). Although this definition does

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The contribution of authors other than the first and the corresponding author was equal and is ordered alphabetically.

M. Demir (✉) · A. D. Procsal
Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, USA
e-mail: Meliksah.Demir@nau.edu

A. Doğan
Ege University, İzmir, Turkey

A. Özen
TOBB University of Economics and Technology, Ankara, Turkey

N. Sümer
Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

not address whether individuals who experience this specific type of relationship will encounter feelings of sexual attraction, it does clearly state that it is a platonic relationship between two members of the opposite sex. In some instances, sexual attraction does exist within cross-sex friendships (e.g., Halatsis and Christakis 2009) and some researchers have suggested that cross-sex friendship is a gateway to a romantic and/or sexual relationship (e.g., Lewis et al. 2011). However, a key aspect of friendship is that the relationship is platonic and does not involve sexual activity, regardless of the biological sex of the individuals involved (Auhagen 1996; Monsour 2002). Accordingly, we view cross-sex friendship as a specific type of friendship and believe it is essential to investigate the role of cross-sex friendship in happiness and other indices of well-being.

There are a number of potential explanations in regard to why researchers exploring the friendship-happiness association have focused on same-sex friends. First, research has indicated that the majority of individuals report that the sex of their best friend or a close friend is the same as their own (Demir and Özdemir 2010; Demir et al. 2007) and that same-sex friendships are typically more common (Laursen and Bukowski 1997). Second, research focusing on cross-sex friendships is relatively new compared to the literature focusing on same-sex friendships (Monsour 2002; Reeder 2000). It is also important to note that cross-sex friendships are more commonly experienced during adolescence and emerging adulthood compared to other developmental periods, potentially due to the high school and college environment providing the opportunity for mix-gendered cliques (Collins and Van Dulmen 2006; Monsour 2002). Lastly, research regarding cross-sex friendships has mostly examined social barriers (e.g., gender socialization) and structural aspects of the relationship. For instance, empirical studies have focused on issues associated with friendship formation, maintenance, and dissolution, gender differences, and the prevalence and impact of sexual attraction and activity (e.g., Afifi and Faulkner 2000; Bleske-Rechek et al. 2012; Johnson et al. 2007; Messman et al. 2000). Finally, there are also studies comparing cross-sex friendships to romantic relationships and same-sex friendships (e.g.,Fuhrman et al. 2009). In a sense, the evolution of cross-sex friendship research is comparable to the literature on same-sex friendships, such that research in same-sex friendships focused on structural aspects of the relationship (e.g., gender differences, friendship formation, maintenance, and dissolution; Caldwell and Peplau 1982; Hays 1988; Reisman 1990; Wright 1982) before investigating its' relationship with happiness (e.g., Demir and Weitekamp 2007; Hussong 2000; Requena 1995).

The current literature regarding cross-sex friendship, for instance, includes studies exploring how sexual attraction affects the friendship dynamic (e.g., Reeder 2000; Werger and Emmett 2009), if cross-sex friendships are experienced differently for men and women (e.g., Bleske and Buss 2000), what functions cross-sex friendships may provide in regard to mating strategies (e.g., Lewis et al. 2011), and the expectations individuals hold regarding the specific friendship compared to other interpersonal relationships (e.g., romantic relationship; Fuhrman et al. 2009). A common theme posits that maintaining platonic cross-sex friendships may be challenging in some instances, especially due to sexual attraction or romantic interests (e.g., Bleske-Rechek et al. 2012; Halatsis and Christakis 2009; Koenig et al. 2007).

However, it is important to take into consideration that these assumptions may be influenced by a heterosexist perspective, as research concerning cross-sex friendships has focused overwhelmingly on heterosexual individuals (Galupo 2009), with non-heterosexually identified persons often excluded from participation or analyses (e.g., Afifi and Faulkner 2000; Bleske-Rechek et al. 2012; Cheung and McBride-Chang 2011; Koenig et al. 2007; Messman et al. 2000). Additionally, it has been noted that regardless of the potential challenges or structural barriers associated within cross-sex friendships (e.g., sexual attraction), heterosexual individuals are indeed able to maintain platonic cross-sex friendships, especially during adolescence and emerging adulthood (Monsour 2002).

Thus, while it is important to have a basic structural understanding of cross-sex friendship, it is also important to explore the significance of cross-sex friendship as a social relationship in regard to various indices of well-being. Monsour (2002) and Werking (1997), for instance, assert that cross- and same-sex friendships share similar benefits and features (e.g., companionship, intimacy, social support). This notion is supported by studies in the literature that have compared self-reported costs and benefits and desired characteristics of cross-sex friendships to other close relationships (e.g., same-sex friendships; Hand and Furman 2008; Sprecher and Regan 2002). According to Hand and Furman (2008), the two most commonly reported benefits of cross-sex friendships were gaining a better understanding of the opposite sex and being able to see the perspective of the other sex. In addition, participants also listed support, intimacy, and companionship as rewards of cross-sex friendship (Hand and Furman, 2008). Likewise, Sprecher and Regan's (2002) study suggests that individuals desire the same characteristics (e.g., kindness, expressiveness and openness) from same- and cross-sex friends at similar levels. The findings of the aforementioned studies, thus, are consistent with Monsour's (2002) argument that cross- and same-sex friendships provide similar benefits.

Given that established research on interpersonal relationships has shown that various aspects of same-sex friendship (e.g., quality, satisfaction) are positively related to happiness (Demir et al. 2013b), it seems likely that cross-sex friendship would also be associated with happiness. Theoretically, then, one could argue that individuals who experience positive cross-sex friendships may experience the same well-being outcomes (e.g., happiness) as individuals who have same-sex friendships. However, to the best of the authors' knowledge, there is no research that has investigated these claims. For instance, is cross-sex friendship related to happiness? Does cross-sex friendship quality explain additional variance in happiness when taking major predictors of happiness (e.g., personality) into account? Is the role of cross-sex friendship quality generalizable to other cultures? With so many unknowns regarding cross-sex friendship and happiness, it is imperative to expand upon the literature and examine the relationship between cross-sex friendships and happiness. The studies reported in this chapter aimed to address these unanswered questions. Specifically, we investigated whether cross-sex friendship quality is related to happiness among emerging adults in the U.S. and Turkey.

The aim of the first study was to investigate the relationship between cross-sex friendship (hereafter CSF) quality and happiness. In doing so, we measured both components of happiness (affective and cognitive; Pavot and Diener 2013)

and the global happiness (Lyubomirsky and Lepper 1999) of the participants. The sample consisted of 339 emerging adults (259 females) between the ages of 18 and 25 years (M_{age}=18.58, SD=1.11) from a Southwestern university. Participants were required to have a cross-sex friendship in order to be eligible for the study and were provided with a definition of cross-sex friendship consistent with the literature (Demir and Weitekamp 2007; O'Meara 1989) before they completed the questionnaires. The quality of the participants' cross-sex friendships was assessed with the McGill Friendship Questionnaire-Friend Functions (MFQ-FF; Mendelson and Aboud 1999). The MFQ-FF is specifically designed for use with emerging and young adults, and measures six theoretically identified features (e.g., intimacy, reliable alliance). Each feature is assessed with five items rated on a 9-point scale (0= never, 8= always). The mean of the 30 items were taken to form an overall cross-sex friendship quality composite score (α=0.92). Higher scores indicate higher levels of friendship quality.

The affective component of happiness was assessed with the Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) (Watson et al. 1988). Following the theoretical arguments about the predominance of positive over negative affect in defining happiness (Diener 1994), an affect balance score was created by subtracting negative affect (α=0.85) from positive affect scores (α=0.84). The cognitive component of happiness was assessed with the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener et al. 1985; α=0.86). Finally, the Subjective Happiness Scale (Lyubomirsky and Lepper, 1999) was used to measure the global happiness of the participants (α=0.86).

Findings showed that CSF quality was positively and significantly (all at $p<0.001$, n=339) associated with every component of happiness (Affect balance: r=0.25, SWLS: r=0.31, Global happiness: r=0.25). The range of the associations between CSF quality and happiness across the three different measurements of happiness were similar to those obtained for same-sex friendship quality (Demir et al. 2013b). Considering it has been suggested that relationships may play a more significant role in happiness for women than men, as women have evolutionarily placed a greater importance and dependence on social relationships (Saphire-Bernstein and Taylor 2013), we examined the correlations separately for both sexes. The associations of friendship with affect balance (Males: r=0.27, n=75, $p<0.05$, Females: r=0.24, n=259, $p<0.001$) and global happiness (Males: r=0.29, n=75, $p<0.05$, Females: r=0.25, n=245, $p<0.001$) were similar across the two sexes and did not significantly differ from each other (z=0.24, p=.40 and z=0.32, p=0.38, respectively). Although relationship quality was similarly related to SWLS in both sexes, it was only significant among females (Males: r=0.18, n=75, p=0.13, Females: r=0.18, n=259, $p<0.001$).

Overall, finding that cross-sex friendship quality was positively associated with happiness, regardless of the way it was assessed, is consistent with the theoretical arguments regarding the role of friendship quality in happiness (Demir et al. 2013b). This study also showed that the association is generally gender invariant. That is, both sexes equally benefit from their cross-sex friendships. Although valuable, we wanted to conduct a cross-cultural study to establish confidence in our findings and to extend it to another culture. Therefore, the aim of the second study

was to investigate the CSF Quality-happiness association among emerging adults in Turkey and the United States, cultures considered collectivistic and individualistic, respectively (Hofstede 2001). Specifically, Hofstede's (2001) 53-nation study revealed that the U.S. ranked 1st whereas Turkey ranked 28th on the individualism-collectivism continuum. Turkey was chosen as a country of comparison for the current investigation because it is a collectivistic culture (Diener et al. 1995; Kağıtçıbaşı 2007; Uskul et al. 2004) that provides a good point of comparison to U.S. due to its' unique sociocultural context. For instance, Turkey is a democratic nation with a predominant Muslim population. Also, although strict gender roles might make it difficult to develop cross-sex friendships, Cingöz-Ulu and Lalonde (2007) have shown that Turkish college students establish and maintain friendships with the opposite sex.

The Turkish sample consisted of 434 students (283 females) enrolled at Middle East Technical University (M_{age}=21.15, SD=1.76; with a range of 18–29). The U.S. sample included 245 students (133 females) from a Southwestern university aged between 18 and 29 (M_{age}=20.78, SD=5.05). The data were gathered online. The quality of the participants' cross-sex friendships was assessed with the same measure (MFQ-FF; Mendelson and Aboud 1999) used in the first study (αs were 0.97 and 0.98 in the Turkish and U.S. samples, respectively). This scale has been successfully used in past research in Turkish samples (e.g., Demir et al. 2013a). Happiness was assessed with PANAS (Watson et al. 1988). PANAS was adapted into Turkish by Gençöz (2000). The coefficient alphas for positive affect and negative affect were satisfactory (0.83 and 0.82 in the Turkish sample, and 0.87 and 0.88 in the U.S. sample, respectively) An affect balance score was created.

U.S. participants reported higher levels of friendship quality (M=6.67, SD=1.29) t (677)=5.7, $p<0.001$; d=0.59) and happiness (M=1.28, SD=0.87) t (677)=7.5, $p<0.001$; d=0.46) than their Turkish peers (M=6.09, SD=1.25; M=0.80, SD=0.79). Cross-sex friendship quality was positively associated with happiness in both cultures (U.S.: r=0.31, n=245, $p<0.001$; Turkish: r=0.19, n=434, $p<0.001$). The correlations did not differ across the two samples (z=1.6, p=0.06). Although the friendship-happiness association was the same for both sexes in the U.S. sample (r=0.29), this association was stronger among men (r=0.29, n=151, $p<0.001$) when compared to women (r=0.17, n=283, $p<0.001$) in the Turkish sample. Yet, the two correlations did not significantly differ from each other (z=1.25, p=0.11).

Overall, this first cross-cultural study on the topic revealed that cross-sex friendship quality is similarly associated with happiness among emerging adults in Turkey and the U.S. This is a notable finding considering the differences between the two cultures on the study variables. Accordingly, it is reasonable to argue that cross-sex friendship quality is similarly related to happiness in two different cultures regardless of cultural differences in psychosocial well-being. Yet it remains to be seen if this association would still exist when taking into consideration major correlates of happiness (e.g., personality). An ample amount of research has shown that the Big Five (e.g., extraversion, neuroticism, contentiousness, agreeableness, and openness to experience) personality traits are related to happiness (Haslam et al. 2009; McCrae and Costa 1991; Steel et al. 2008). Collectively, the Big Five accounts for up

to half of the variance in happiness and is fittingly considered one of the most consistent and strongest predictors of happiness (Diener et al. 1999; Lyubomirsky et al. 2005; Pavot and Diener 2013). Empirical research has also shown that personality is related to numerous aspects of close relationships (e.g., relationship quality, relationship satisfaction; Barelds 2005; Demir and Weitekamp 2007; Jensen-Campbell and Malcom 2007). Importantly, it has been argued that friendship experiences are likely to be influenced by personality (Lucas and Diener 2001; Lucas 2008). For instance, the extrovert's greater happiness could be explained by their heightened sensitivity to social rewards rather the more positive social relationships they have. In other words, it is possible that cross-sex friendships experiences might be redundant with personality characteristics and would not be a predictor of happiness above and beyond the influence of personality. Therefore, examining whether cross-sex friendship quality is predictive of happiness while taking personality into account would provide additional confidence in the findings that cross-sex friendship quality is an important and unique source of happiness for individuals as it would show that cross-sex friendship quality is not redundant with the five factor model of personality traits.

We tested this idea again in Turkey and the U.S. to establish confidence in the findings. The Turkish sample consisted of 263 (138 females) emerging adults enrolled at Muğla University in southwest Turkey between the ages of 18 and 25 years (M_{age}=21.14, SD=1.83). The U.S. sample included 262 (153 females) emerging adults from a Southwestern university (M_{age}=21.37, SD=2.54; with a range of 18–29). Personality was assessed with the The Big Five Inventory (BFI; John and Srivastava 1999). Each personality dimension is composed of eight to ten items and is rated on a five-point scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). Cronbach alphas for the five personality factors in Turkey and the U.S. ranged from 0.66 to 0.85. MFQ-FF was again used to assess cross-sex friendship quality (α=0.95, 0.96 for U.S. and Turkey, respectively). Finally, the Subjective Happiness Scale (Lyubomirsky and Lepper, 1999) was used to measure happiness (α=0.87 and 0.80 for U.S. and Turkey, respectively).

Consistent with the second study, U.S. participants had higher levels of relationship quality (t (523)=5.6, $p<0.001$; d=0.49) and happiness (t (523)=10.1, $p<0.001$; d=0.96) when compared to the Turkish participants (See Table 1). Cross-sex friendship quality was positively associated with happiness in both cultures (U.S.: r=0.34, n=262, $p<0.001$; Turkey: r=0.26, n=263, $p<0.001$). The magnitude of the correlations did not differ across the two samples (z=1.0, p=0.16). Furthermore, the relationship of cross-sex friendship quality with happiness was similar for both men and women in both cultural groups (U.S.: r=0.36, n=109, $p<0.001$; r=0.32, n=153, $p<0.001$; Turkey: r=0.20, n=125, $p<0.05$; r=0.27, n=153, $p<0.001$).

The regression analyses revealed that the Big Five personality dimensions explained 30 and 45 % of the variance in happiness in the Turkish and the U.S. samples, respectively (See Table 2). Controlling for personality, cross-sex friendship quality explained an additional 2 % of the variance in happiness in both cultures (See Table 2). Additional analyses showed that gender or culture did not moderate the effect of cross-sex friendship quality on happiness.

Table 1 Correlations among the study variables (Study 3)

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	M		SD	
										Turkey	U.S.	Turkey	U.S.
1.	Gender	—	0.05	0.19**	0.10	0.18**	0.07	0.21**	0.24**	—	—	—	—
2.	Extraversion	0.13*	—	0.00	0.08	−0.26**	0.32**	0.23**	0.48**	3.34	3.48	0.71	0.76
3.	Agreeableness	0.15*	0.25**	—	0.38**	−0.30**	0.17*	0.17*	0.13*	3.72	3.92	0.46	0.64
4.	Conscientiousnes	0.05	0.17*	0.34**	—	−0.28**	0.25**	0.09	0.13*	3.60	3.73	0.57	0.61
5.	Neuroticism	0.07	−0.35**	−0.43**	−0.32**	—	−0.11	−0.11	−0.38**	2.86	2.67	0.70	0.74
6.	Openness	0.02	0.17*	0.25**	0.21**	−0.18**	—	0.26**	0.18**	3.70	3.57	0.56	0.61
7.	CSQUAL	0.13*	0.36**	0.26**	0.12	−0.18**	0.16*	—	0.26**	6.15	6.77	1.44	1.09
8.	SHS	0.04	0.48**	0.41**	0.29**	−0.58**	0.19**	0.34**	—	4.10	5.34	1.37	1.20

CSQUAL cross-sex friendship quality, *SHS* subjective happiness. Correlations for Turkey ($n=263$) are reported above the diagonal, US ($n=262$) below the diagonal

$*p<0.05$, $**p<0.01$

Table 2 Hierarchical Regression Analysis Summary for Personality and Cross-sex Friendship Quality Predicting Happiness Among Turkish and U.S. participants

	Turkey ($n=263$)				U.S. ($n=262$)			
Step1	β	R^2	$R^2 \Delta$	F	β	R^2	$R^2 \Delta$	F
		0.30		22.37**		0.45		41.45**
Extraversion	0.41**				0.29**			
Agreeableness	0.05				0.15*			
Conscien-tiousness	0.01				0.06			
Neuroticism	−0.26**				−0.40**			
Openness	0.01				0.02			
Step2		0.32	0.02	20.38**		0.47	0.02	36.75**
CSQUAL	0.15*				0.14*			

CSQUAL cross-sex friendship quality
*$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$

The findings suggest that CSF quality is not redundant with personality traits and explains additional variance in happiness when taking one of the major predictors of happiness into account. Finding support for this pattern in two different cultures suggests that CSFs, although experienced differently, has unique characteristics that adds to the explanation of happiness that are not completely explained by one's personality.

Limitations

Although we have shown that CSF quality is related to happiness and explains additional variance in happiness above and beyond the influence of personality in two different cultures, our studies had a number of limitations. To start with, reliance on convenience samples limits the generalizability of the findings to other age or cultural groups. This is a serious concern, especially in research on CSF because not everybody has or maintains a CSF in different age groups across cultures (Monsour 2002). This might be more pronounced in Turkey due to traditional and strict gender roles. Thus, CSFs might be less likely to continue in other age groups (e.g., middle adulthood) in Turkey. Related to the first point, the samples recruited in this study consisted of volunteers. Although this is the common practice in most cross-cultural research, recent studies suggests that relying on volunteers, especially in research on friendship among emerging adults, might overwhelmingly represent those with greater friendships (Orthel and Demir 2011). Also, it is important to note that the sexual orientation of the participants was not taken into consideration. Thus, it remains to be seen whether the findings would be generalizable to non-heterosexual identified individuals. Finally, the cross-sectional data reported across the three studies do not permit cause-effect arguments. We elaborate on this issue below.

Directions for Future Research

The literature on CSF has grown in the last 10 years. Consistent with the historical trend observed for the study of same-sex friendships, it is reasonable to expect that studies examining the CFS-happiness association would grow in the coming decade. There is no doubt that this line of research would improve our understanding of the CSF-happiness association. However, it is essential to consider a few key points and directions for future research to ensure that this line of inquiry does not suffer from the same shortfalls and limitations observed for the literature on same-sex friendship and happiness (Demir et al. 2013b). Thus, we provide a few key issues and future research directions that might facilitate the study of CSFs in relation to happiness.

The first issue to consider in research on CSF pertains to providing a definition of the relationship to the participants before assessing their CSF experiences. Researchers should differentiate CSF from other relationships one maintains as individuals might consider their romantic partners or family members of the opposite sex as their CSF when not provided with a clear definition. The importance of this suggestion becomes clear when one considers the decades of research focusing on the sexual tension or attraction that might exist between cross-sex friends (Halatsis and Christakis 2009; O'Meara 1989), the arguments that CSFs might be viewed as a potential romantic partner (Bleske-Rechek and Buss 2001; Lewis et al., this volume) and the recent research focusing on a trend described as having friends with benefits that is relatively common among American emerging adults, and probably in other age groups as well (Mongeau et al. 2013; VanderDrift et al. 2012). It is unlikely that theoreticians and scholars who study friendship would consider a relationship that includes sexual activity a friendship as it has been suggested that friendship is a nonsexual relationship (Auhagen 1996; Monsour 2002; Werking 1997). A review of the empirical studies ($n=48$) published on CSF between 1961 and 2009 have found that only 29 % of the empirical reports have provided a definition of CSF to the participants (e.g., nonsexual) before assessing various relationship experiences in the CSFs (Procsal and Demir 2013). As Demir et al. (2013b) aptly put it: "Assessing friendship without a clear articulation of the definition or without differentiation from other personal relationships weakens confidence in the conclusions from the results" (p. 865). Thus, we suggest that future research on CSF, and empirical investigations on its association with happiness should assess the presence of a CSF in ones' life (e.g., nonromantic, nonfamilial, and nonsexual) before measuring various relationship experiences in the friendship. Otherwise, the literature may include conflicting or inconsistent findings.

Second, empirical research has shown that individuals maintain multiple close friendships (Antonucci 2001). Although most of these friendships might be same-sex, individuals have cross-sex friends in their social networks as well (Demir et al. 2007; Demir and Özdemir 2010; Sheets and Lugar 2005). Thus, it would be interesting to examine the predictive ability of same-and cross-sex friendships in happiness, especially when taking personality into account. That is, which of the two friendships explain additional variance in happiness above and beyond the

influence of personality? This line of research would not only show the relative importance of different types of friendships but might also contribute to the literature by testing additive effects. For example, individuals might experience the highest level of happiness when they have higher quality same- and cross-sex friendships. Related to this point, it would be also interesting to investigate the role of CSF in happiness while studying other close relationships (e.g., romantic partners, family) individuals maintain at the same time. Consistent with theory (Cantor 1979; Duvall 1971; Levitt 1991), past research has shown that the role of same-sex friendships in happiness, or well-being in general, is either less pronounced or not observed at all among those involved in a romantic relationship when the quality of other relationships are taken into account (Bertera 2005; Demir 2010; Okun and Keith 1998; Walen and Lachman 2000). What happens to the role of CSF experiences in happiness when one is charged with new roles or thrives to satisfy different developmental tasks across the life-span? Are CSFs related to happiness only among those who are single? Does CSF quality buffer the negative impact of conflict in romantic or family relationships across the life span? Future research could address these important questions that have the potential to contribute to theory on close relationships and improve our understanding of cross-sex friendships as they relate to happiness across the life span.

Third, now that the CSF quality-happiness association has been reported across cultures even when taking personality into account, and as this line of research grows, it would be essential to investigate the mediators and moderators of this association to enhance our understanding of why, how, and when CSF quality is related to happiness. Past research addressing these issues for same-sex friendships could be illuminating (e.g., Demir and Özdemir 2010; Demir et al. 2014). For instance, as highlighted above, one could examine romantic relationship status as a moderator of the CSF-happiness association.

Fourth, future research should address the heterosexual bias in this line of research (Bleske-Rechek et al. 2012; Cheung and McBride-Chang 2011; Galupo 2009) by investigating the role of CSFs in happiness among the members of the lesbian, bisexual, gay, and transgender (LBGT) community. This is especially important when one considers past research suggesting that friends are often considered as family members in this population (Galupo 2009; Nardi 1999; Weinstock 1998). Related to the second point highlighted above, it would be interesting to examine the roles of CSF experiences in happiness in heterosexual and LGBT individuals.

Fifth, relationship scholars agree that friendship is a mixed blessing such that it can at times involve conflicts, irritations, and arguments (Canary et al. 1995; Hinde 1997). Thus, it is essential that future research investigate the association of negative relationship experiences in CSF with happiness. Related to the second point, it would be interesting to examine the differential and additive (or buffering effects when quality or support is assessed) effects of negative interactions in cross-sex friendships on happiness while taking the negative exchanges in other close relationships into account.

Finally, in light of the history of past research on same-sex friendship-happiness association, we would predict that an overwhelming documentation of the relation-

ship between CSF experiences and happiness would be cross-sectional in nature in the following years. Although valuable in itself, this line of research would inevitably raise concerns about shared method variance and cause-effect arguments (Demir et al. 2013b; Saphire-Bernstein and Taylor 2013). Thus, it is essential that future research employ mixed-method and longitudinal designs to avoid any criticisms (e.g., Lucas and Dyrenforth 2006) when claiming that CSF is a robust predictor of happiness.

Conclusion

Cross-sex friendships play a key role in the lives of many among emerging adults. The burgeoning body of research in the past decade has shown that individuals successfully establish and maintain platonic CSFs and this specific type of friendship, although unique in certain aspects, provides the same benefits as same-sex friendships (Monsour 2002). The studies reported in this chapter have shown that CSF quality is a reliable correlate of happiness and explains unique variance in happiness when taking personality into account in two different cultures. The task before us is to show how, when, and why CSF experiences are related to happiness by employing advanced methods. We believe that CSFs would receive the attention it deserves in the coming decade and hope that the next review on the topic would be focusing on theoretical and empirical advances in our understanding of the CSF-happiness association.

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Social Media, Friendship, and Happiness in the Millennial Generation

Adriana M. Manago and Lanen Vaughn

An important component to psychological health and well-being in lifespan development is learning to build meaningful relationships outside the family during the transition to adulthood (Erikson 1968). Adolescents and emerging adults growing up in digital age societies are accomplishing this psychosocial task using Internet technologies that give them historically unprecedented access to their social networks 24-7, at the click of a mouse. Does the convenience of Facebook and the ability to accumulate hundreds of Facebook "friends" alter paradigms for understanding the meaning of friendship in young people's lives and its role in healthy psychological development? In this chapter, we review research to demonstrate how social media shape practices surrounding friendship in the Millennial generation and argue that social networking sites offer young people in the digital age a kind of *customized sociality*, which is shifting the way they mobilize social resources. We then explore the implications of these sociocultural changes on the link between friendship and happiness.

Friendship on Social Networking Sites in Digital Age Societies

There are an exceptional variety of social networking sites, but youth as well as adults favor Facebook, the second most visited website globally after Google. com (Alexa.com). Adults over 35 are the fastest growing U.S. demographic on Facebook, however adolescents and emerging adults still predominate on the site (Hampton et al. 2011), particularly 18–29 year-old women (Duggan and Brenner 2013). Eighty-six percent of all online emerging adults ages 18–29 (Duggan and Brenner 2013) and 75 % of adolescents ages 12–17 (Brenner 2012) use Facebook.

A. M. Manago (✉) · L. Vaughn
Department of Psychology, MS 9172, Western Washington University,
516 High Street, Bellingham, WA 98225-9172, USA
e-mail: adriana.manago@wwu.edu

Although extraverted individuals low in conscientiousness seem to be especially drawn to the social networking site, there seem to be few personality differences between users and non-users, perhaps because Facebook is becoming commonplace in the fabric of everyday social life (Anderson et al. 2012). Indeed, 52 % of adult Facebook users are on the site every single day (Hampton et al. 2011). According to Facebook, the site has over 618 million daily active users and over 81 % of the monthly active users are from outside the U.S. and Canada. These figures attest to the mass appeal of Facebook on a global scale.

Facebook is widespread because it taps into basic human needs. In a series of studies with undergraduates, Sheldon et al. (2011) demonstrated that Facebook is used to meet the basic human need for relatedness, which involves interpersonal closeness, connection, belonging, and acceptance. Many studies demonstrate that the desire to connect to others in some form or another is what drives Facebook use (e.g. Bonds-Raacke and Raacke 2010), with some studies adding the need for self-presentation (Nadkarni and Hofmann 2012) and the need for information (Park et al. 2009) as additional motives. Because Facebook provides a convenient forum for a particular kind of sociality, one that emphasizes personal self-expression, reputation management, and efficient access to expansive networks of social information, it may actually resonate with all three fundamental psychosocial needs: relatedness, autonomy, and competency. Each prong of this universal triad of basic human needs is considered necessary for well-being, but they vary in salience and meaning across cultures and in different social contexts (Ryan and Deci 2000). Facebook is a cultural tool that affords particular opportunities for action, thus could extend in new directions human impulses to feel connected, autonomous, and competent. As such, the tool may be part of broad sociocultural shifts in the ways basic human needs are manifested, prioritized, and how they are satisfied within relationships to promote happiness.

Three opportunities for action on Facebook include the following capabilities: (1) maintain a catalogue of close and distant social contacts and follow their activities, (2) choose whether to broadcast self-expressions to everyone in the network at once or to exchange private digital communications, and (3) manicure a digital representation of the self to others. To participate in a social networking site such as Facebook, one must construct a profile and build a network by adding "friends," which means articulating a tie through the digital medium that establishes a channel by which information can be transferred between two users. Friends have mutual access to each other's profiles, which is now organized as a chronological display of a user's history on a timeline that marks key life events, such as weddings. Although privacy controls can be used to regulate who sees what content and the chat feature allows private communications, the most popular Facebook feature is the status update, which allows users to communicate publicly to their entire network at once. Users tend to portray accurate impressions of themselves on Facebook (Back et al. 2010), yet users *project* who they are onto screens, strategically presenting a certain shade of the self for an audience (Manago et al. 2008; Zhao et al. 2008; Walther 2007). The authenticity of online projections partly depends on Facebook being a "nonymous" context; that is, online social networks overlap with offline networks.

This overlap exists because the website is largely geared to coordinating offline connections, although one's Facebook network tends to be larger than one's sphere of face-to-face social interactions (Ellison et al. 2007). The average number of Facebook friends for the general user is 229 (Hampton et al. 2011). Adolescents tend to acquire more friends than older adults (Pfeil et al. 2009), however they still report having interacted face-to-face with 95 % of their social networking site friends (Reich et al. 2012). College students have networks averaging in the 300–400 range (Steinfield et al. 2008), growing their friend lists by disproportionately adding "loose ties" such as acquaintances from class, sports teams, or summer camps (Manago et al. 2012). Thus, network expansion comes at a cost of decreasing group level intimacy and college students report that about 21 % of their networks are close friends and family (Manago et al. 2012). In effect, Facebook provides an easy and efficient platform for building "social supernets" (Donath 2008), very large networks consisting of a spectrum of tight and loose ties, the majority representing relatively loose ties known in the offline world.

Because social networking sites are used to connect with close friends and relatively more distant acquaintances, differentiating between online Facebook friends and offline friendships may not be as useful as examining how Facebook functions within different layers of intimacy. A range of intimacy levels is acknowledged in the classic definition of friendship from Hays (1988 p. 395):

> voluntary interdependence between two persons over time, which is intended to facilitate the socio-emotional goals of the participants and may involve varying types and degrees of companionship, intimacy, affection, and mutual assistance.

Acquaintanceship on Facebook could be understood at the latter end of the intimacy spectrum, a less interdependent and more ephemeral form of social connection. As social networking sites increase the human capacity to maintain and communicate with larger webs of loose ties, acquaintances may become more accentuated in the mosaic of human sociality. That is, acquaintances provide not close bonding, but they do provide bridging social capital (Ellison et al. 2007), defined as the sense that one is linked to and can effectively derive resources from a broad and heterogeneous community. The acquisition of bridging capital may become more valued in a culture where digital social networking tools permeate social lives, shifting the ways in which needs for autonomy, relatedness, and competency are met, and presumably how happiness would be achieved.

The value of online acquaintances elicits skepticism. It has been noted that online only social connections lack the kind of depth, authenticity, and genuine trust that derives from face-to-face, intimate self-disclosures and from un-manicured self-expressions in a physical world of spontaneous social experiences (Fröding and Peterson 2012; Soraker 2012). The very standards by which the quality of a social connection is judged hinge on closeness and interdependence: companionship, help, intimacy, trust, loyalty, validation, encouragement, comfort, and reassurance (Demir and Özdemir 2010). These qualities of closeness and interdependence are what enable the satisfaction of basic human needs for relatedness, autonomy, and competency, thereby making friendship closeness a critical source of happiness.

High quality face-to-face friendships furnish opportunities to give and receive authentic and consistent affective care and concern, to experience a secure context for personal volition, and to feel capable in social interactions, all of which promote happiness (Demir and Özdemir 2010). Social media technologies can be used as another channel for enacting these kinds of behaviors with close, offline, friendships (Valkenburg and Peter 2007; see also Haythornthwaite 2005). However, social supernets of networked publics comprised of numerous acquaintances may be best optimized for the acquisition of bridging social capital, which, as we will outline, emphasizes a kind of autonomy in social relations particularly suited for the adolescent and emerging adult periods of the lifespan in post-modern societies.

Broad and diverse social networks that feature the autonomy of individual agents are part of larger sociological trends in the post-industrialized world. Wellman (2002) theorizes that the Internet reflects and amplifies social and technological changes in the twentieth century that have promoted individual mobility within increasingly expansive networks of loose social ties. Thus, social relationships are premised on assumptions of individual autonomy to a larger degree than was the case in pre-modern times. Evolutionary psychologists have posited that departures from tight knit interdependent communities and consistent face-to-face interaction with permanent members of a kin group create discrepancies between modern and ancestral ways of living, which interfere with human happiness (Buss 2000). Others suggest that our brains are not biologically equipped to manage social communities over approximately 150 people regardless of communication technologies such as social networking sites (Dunbar 2012). Certainly the need for close and enduring intimate connections is still very much relevant in the digital age, and in fact, communication technologies are most often employed to tether us to close face-to-face relations in a busy, achievement-oriented, capitalistic society. For example, even though there are a disproportionate number of acquaintances versus close relationships on Facebook, most social interactions on the site happen between close friends (Hampton et al. 2011; Manago et al. 2012).

Yet, alongside the persisting need for intimacy and interdependence in the digital age is evidence of change, in the form of the increasing salience of autonomy in a wider social community of acquaintances. A shift toward networked individualism in the digital age is about the emergence of personalized communities that position the individual, rather than the group, as the unit of connectivity so that the individual is responsible for mobilizing social resources, such as information or support, customized to meet their own unique needs, desires, or ambitions (Wellman 2002). Social networking sites are befitting for this form of sociality. In her multi-method analysis of the nature of community on MySpace and Facebook, Reich (2010) concluded that networked individualism is an apt description for social networking sites. She found little evidence of common group goals or feelings of group membership among adolescents and college student users of Facebook or MySpace. Instead, their descriptions and feelings about their social networking site activities suggested they were operating as independent nodes within personalized webs of connections.

Although youth do sometimes use Facebook to be part of an interest group (Valenzuela et al. 2009), they primarily traverse on their own through their networks (Pempek et al. 2009) in a process of "social grooming" (Donath 2008; Tufekci 2008). Social grooming is about the individual nurturing their social connections through online exchanges, navigating through the announcements and photos friends post, and maintaining a personal reputation via the digital residue of those network excursions. Communications on social networking sites often reference the self, in contrast to communications addressing a superordinate group's goals and interests, which are more common in online content communities such as Wikipedia (Schwammlein and Wodzicki 2012). Essentially, social networking sites emphasize individuals as the center of their social worlds, managing their connections, expressing themselves to their audiences of friends, and embarking on personalized expeditions through vast landscapes of gossip and social information. The individual creates his or her own social experience based on personal preferences and proclivities. In this way, we propose that personal customization is a useful concept for understanding implications of the shift away from close face-to-face communities to digital societies that afford efficient and convenient tools for building social networks comprised of both close and distant social ties.

Procuring Resources via Social Networking Sites: Customized Sociality

Initial theories about the impact of Internet use were centered on the displacement effect, suggesting that online interactions would displace offline relationships and offer few resources for psychological well-being in exchange (e.g. Kraut et al. 1998; Mesch 2001; Sanders et al. 2000). Ten years later, studies demonstrate that adolescents use online tools such as chat or bulletin boards to reach out to wider realms of youth in order to acquire more social support and information (Subrahmanyam and Smahel 2011; Valkenburg and Peter 2011). Hogan and Wellman (2012) argue that the Internet is increasingly used as a tool to add to, rather than detract from, social resources. Moreover, they argue that technologically mediated connections are thoroughly entangled with offline connections in such a manner that it would be inappropriate to treat them as discrete processes. Indeed, the hallmark of the rise of social networking sites, among other forms of social media online, is that they introduced "nonymous" social contexts in which online friends are anchored in offline relationships (Zhao et al. 2008). Communication technologies such as social networking sites are designed in the digital age to empower individuals to meet their personal needs and preferences by customizing a social life characterized by interactive digital and face-to-face modalities.

Social networking sites constitute part of the digital age infrastructure that enable adolescents and emerging adults to conveniently acquire social resources in ways that transcend offline-online dichotomies. For adolescents, this means more access to close friends and acquaintances than had been possible in the days before

the Internet. Peers are an important source of social support and belonging as adolescents move out of childhood and experience more independence from parents (Furman and Buhrmester 1992). However, those relationships are at the mercy of societal and parental limitations. For example, peer relationships may be restricted by curfews, lack of transportation, or a paucity of social spaces outside the prying eyes of adults. In the digital age, adolescents forge and nourish peer friendships from the convenience of their own homes, day or night (Clark 2005). In fact, Clark dubs millennial youth the "constant contact generation." Similarly, Boyd (2007) argues that social networking sites enable adolescents to transcend physical and regulatory constraints to connect with one another in public or semi-public spheres, lending increased power to their interactions for the construction of youth culture.

Another aspect of customized sociality on social networking sites involves the asynchronicity of computer-mediated communications, which endows adolescents with more control in social interactions than is possible in face-to-face situations (Davis 2012; Schouten et al. 2007). Asynchrony means that adolescents can edit themselves and reflect on what they want to say before transmitting their messages. In addition, screen-to-screen interchanges reduce inhibitions, affording increased self-disclosure and enhanced comfort when discussing sensitive or potentially embarrassing topics. Asynchrony and the shroud of screens are useful for shy or socially anxious youth, who now have digital tools at their disposal to accommodate their needs. Youth can use chat features when they want to discuss intimate or emotionally difficult issues, explore bulletin boards anonymously to learn about sexuality and relationships, or use social networking sites to maintain friendships and promote flattering images of themselves to large online audiences of peers. Unfortunately, computer-mediated communications can also accommodate teenagers' urges to cyberbully, with some studies showing victimization rates as high as 53 % (Tokunaga 2010). Both risks and opportunities are entailed in the increasing customization of sociality via the Internet.

In emerging adulthood, social networking sites can be customized to manage the flux and flow of unstable social connections common during this transition to adulthood. Emerging adulthood is a time in the lifespan when instability and exploration reign prominent (Arnett 2004). This life period often involves experimenting with different career opportunities, living environments, and relationships prior to settling down into an adult life. Facebook allows young people to maintain attachment to family, friends, and other former support communities while they embrace the experimentation and mobility appropriate to their age in post-modern societies (Ellison et al. 2007; Stephenson-Abetz and Holman 2012). Emerging adults can move to new cities or backpack through Europe all while preserving digital ties that require relatively little maintenance but are conveniently just a click away.

With past or physically distant attachments adequately secured, emerging adults can also use Facebook to integrate into new communities, traversing seamlessly through broader social expanses than was previously possible. As young people move away to college, to a new city, or seek involvement in new interest groups, the large amounts of social information that can be gleaned from Facebook are quite useful. Indeed, Facebook use predicts college students' integration into university

life (Ellison et al. 2007). Typical Facebook activities, such as creating a profile and posting public comments, expose preferences and other social information that are valuable for gaining insights into new acquaintances (Brandtzaeg et al. 2010; Ellison et al. 2011; Livingstone 2008; Tufekci 2008). Social events are often posted on Facebook, and because it is a non-invasive way to extend invitations, Facebook gives young people an effective tool for gathering new friends and acquaintances (Barkhuus and Tashiro 2010). In other words, Facebook scaffolds engagement with offline social networks.

Finally, because convenient access to information in social supernets generates readily available perspectives from diverse others, it could foster increased social competence, that is, more confidence in one's ability to coordinate needs and actualize resources in a wider, more heterogeneous, social universe. This is the essence of bridging social capital, feeling effectively connected to a broader society, which is highly adaptive in a society of networked individualism where the onus is on the individual to maneuver seamlessly through various social webs. The development of bridging social capital is one of the more robust implications of social networking sites use among college students (Ellison et al. 2011; Lampe et al. 2013). It reflects a more instrumental form of social relatedness that emphasizes the autonomy of the individual within a diverse network of loose ties. However, very little research has investigated whether Facebook does actually promote heterogeneity in one's friendships online. A large scale longitudinal study in Norway suggest that it does (Brandtzaeg 2012), whereas another study with college students in the U.S. illuminates how homophily continues to be a factor online, motivating youth to gravitate to similar others (Craig and Wright 2012).

Enhanced capacities for bridging capital in the digital age is also relevant earlier in development, during adolescence, when youth may want to seek information about other cliques at school or even beyond, to better understand who they are in a broader and diverse social world (Antheunis et al. 2010; Courtois et al. 2012; Ito et al. 2010). By fostering expeditions into peer groups outside established social circles, bridging capital via Facebook could provoke more elaborate identity explorations, a central task during adolescence. Minority youth may particularly benefit from access to wider social spheres. Gray (2009) observed that lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender youth in rural areas of the United States use social networking sites to find other sexual minority youth and gain a better understanding of who they are. Similarly, ethnic minority adolescents use Facebook to connect with older adolescents who scaffold their ethnic identity explorations with new insights into issues of race and ethnicity (Tynes et al. 2010). Awkward, shy, or socially anxious youth use Facebook as a tool for gathering information about popular peers or companions at school with whom they would like to get to know better (Antheunis et al. 2010).

In sum, social networking sites engender customized sociality by providing youth with an additional mode to communicate with offline peers, tools to achieve enhanced control in social interactions, access to an extensive range of social information, and technological capacities to maintain contact with distant others and manage unstable community memberships. This is a form of relatedness accom-

modated to personal needs, preferences, and desires. Technological change that empowers young people to tailor their social environments according to their own inclinations may exemplify the kind of sociocultural change that Twenge (2013) proposes is propelling a self-centered, narcissistic occupation with the self and decreased well-being in the millennial generation. Twenge argues that over the past few decades, self-focus and inflated self-views have increased among emerging adults, while empathy for others and overall happiness has declined. Arnett (2013) disputes Twenge's evidence for increasing narcissism in the millennial generation and argues that optimistic self-views are adaptive for navigating a time of life that is unstable, shifting rapidly, and filled with new possibilities. In the following section, we explore whether technological affordances that endow young people with increased autonomy in social relationships may foster pursuit of happiness or whether it may backfire, leading to a form of self-gratification that may not be conducive to real happiness.

Customized Sociality and Happiness

Feeling socially connected is perhaps the most essential ingredient to the cultivation of happiness, specified as positive appraisals of one's life, high positive affect and low negative affect (Demir et al. 2013; Diener and Seligman 2002). It would therefore seem reasonable that having tools at your disposal to augment your social connectivity would only increase your happiness. Indeed, studies tend to find that Facebook use is associated with various measures of happiness (Kim and Lee 2011; Kalpidou et al. 2011; Manago et al. 2012; Valenzuela et al. 2009). Yet, it is often difficult to disentangle whether those who are already socially connected and happy are more likely than those who are disconnected and unhappy to use Facebook, or whether Facebook promotes increased connection and happiness. Further, what is the nature of the happiness Facebook engenders? There are also certain aspects of Facebook use associated with negative psychological outcomes, such as depression (Locatelli et al. 2012; Davila et al. 2012) and addiction (Smahel et al. 2012). From a uses and gratifications theory perspective (Rubin 2002), the effects of any form of media depend on what you are using it for, how you use it, and the characteristics and qualities that you bring to the table. To help clarify matters, we ground our understanding of Facebook it terms of the technology's affordances, its opportunities for action within social relationships, which offer both risks and opportunities for happiness. In the following discussion, we consider research on Facebook and happiness in terms of three main affordances previously outlined, capabilities to (1) maintain a catalogue of close and distant social contacts and follow their activities, (2) choose whether to broadcast self-expressions to everyone in the network at once or to exchange private digital communications, and (3) manicure a digital representation of the self to others.

Affordance 1: Catalogue and follow close and distant contacts *Do increased opportunities to quickly and easily catalogue and follow many kinds of diverse friendships scaffold friendship and happiness?* A recent study found that among various dimensions of relatedness in Facebook use, including the need for social stimulation, need for belonging, and desire to learn about what friends are doing, the need for popularity was the most potent predictor of undergraduates' Facebook use (Utz et al. 2012). Because it is so easy to add friends to the network, some youth use Facebook to increase their popularity and self-esteem (Lee et al. 2012; Zywica and Danowski 2008). Interestingly, having too many Facebook friends can decrease the social attractiveness of a user because the credibility of so many associations is dubious and makes the user appear desperate to masquerade as someone who is popular (Tong et al. 2008). Indeed, one study found that accumulating friends rather indiscriminately was actually associated with low self-esteem, but only among those with higher levels of concern about how others view them (Lee et al. 2012). Another study suggests that users with high self-esteem and offline popularity use Facebook to maintain their popularity, whereas those with low self-esteem and offline popularity use Facebook to increase their popularity (Zywica and Danowski 2008).

The question of whether popularity in terms of quantity of Facebook friends promotes happiness is not straightforward. One study with college students showed that, controlling for self-esteem, Facebook network size predicted more life satisfaction (Manago et al. 2012). Another study found that number of friends on Facebook predicted personal-emotional adjustment among upper class college students, but was negatively associated with personal-emotional adjustment among first year students (Kalpidou et al. 2011). Kalpidou and colleagues inferred from their findings that this difference was due to older students using Facebook more effectively to engage in social life at college. Clearly, face-to-face connectedness remains important for happiness in digital societies. For example, a large-scale study with a general population of Canadians (ages 16–65 years old) showed that, although the size of offline social networks predicted subjective well-being, the size of online networks did not contribute to happiness beyond this association (Helliwell and Huang 2013).

Network size could promote happiness if users mobilize Facebook to facilitate social support from both close friends and acquaintances. Deriving social support from Facebook, both bonding (i.e. trusting someone close to you to help solve your problems) and bridging social capital, requires active social grooming. A variety of large scale studies comparing users and non users, and passive versus active users of a variety of ages, demonstrate that social networking site users have more bridging social capital than non-users but particularly if users are active socializers on the site (Burke et al. 2010; Lampe et al. 2013; Ryan and Xenos 2011). One study showed that passive observations of others predicted lower levels of both bridging and bonding social capital and that frequency of direct interactions between pairs predicted higher levels of bonding social capital (Burke et al. 2010). Ellison and colleagues, who have exerted considerable effort to understand connections between Facebook use and social capital, show that using the website to keep up with close friends and learn more about acquaintances in offline social spheres mediate

associations between Facebook use and bridging and bonding social capital (Ellison et al. 2011). Further, they posit that weak ties on Facebook offer very little in the way of social capital if that tie is not articulated in some way offline. Yang and Brown (2012) confirm these results with a study showing that college students who use Facebook to meet new people, rather than to maintain established face-to-face relationships, show less psycho-social adjustment and more loneliness. Indeed a number of studies with adolescents, emerging adults, and adults reveal that social uses of the Internet can lead to more social support and less loneliness when it is specifically used to augment offline relationships (Bessiere et al. 2008; Blais et al. 2008; Burke et al. 2010; Desjarlais and Willoughby 2010 ; Kim et al. 2009; Valkenburg and Peter 2011).

There is also evidence that the bridging and bonding social capital derived from active Facebook use is directly associated with life satisfaction (Burke et al. 2010; Ellison et al. 2007). However, Facebook seems best optimized for achieving a kind of life satisfaction that derives from the acquisition of bridging capital, rather than bonding capital, the latter perhaps more effectively achieved with close face-to-face interactions (Ellison et al. 2011; Vitak et al. 2011). A longitudinal study with college students found that intensity of Facebook use in year one predicted bonding and bridging capital, but most strongly predicted bridging capital in year two, which was associated with higher levels of life satisfaction (Steinfield et al. 2008). In this study, the association between Facebook use and bridging social capital was particularly notable for those with low self-esteem in year one, suggesting that Facebook may be a tool especially useful for shy or socially awkward youth to connect to wider social spheres to achieve more life satisfaction. However, it's important to note here that according to Smahel et al. (2012), shy and socially awkward youth who prefer online communication to expand their social networks are at a higher risk for Internet addiction. The life satisfaction that derives from bridging capital via Facebook may be about a more abstract feeling of belonging to society compared to offline belonging to more intimate communities (Grieve et al. 2013). For example, the centrality of Facebook to one's social life predicts college students' life satisfaction and also predicts the belief human beings in general are good and can be trusted (Valenzuela et al. 2009).

In addition to bridging and bonding capital, Facebook is conducive to maintained social capital, defined as connection to ties from past communities (Ellison et al. 2007). First year college students sometimes suffer from friendsickness or homesickness (Paul and Brier 2001) but staying in contact with best friends during this time via phone or e-mail has been shown to help combat social loneliness (Cummings et al. 2006; Oswald and Clark 2003). Facebook is another component of the digital age toolkit for staying connected to friends from high school, helping young people satisfy their needs for connection to both old and new communities in a mobile world (Stephenson-Abetz and Holman 2012). Best friends who are drawn to opportunities in distant locales may be able to preserve their precious relationship through Facebook and other communication technologies such as cell phones. College students who have higher proportions of high school friends in their Facebook networks tend to be more convinced that Facebook is a tool useful for social support

and also report higher levels of life satisfaction (Manago et al. 2012). These findings illustrate how Facebook represents a new route to happiness within friendships, one that is adapted to a more mobile post-modern society.

Unfortunately, there are also new routes to potential unhappiness within the sociality of Facebook. As previously mentioned, more passive Facebook users have lower social capital outcomes and more loneliness than active users (Brandtztaeg 2012; Burke et al. 2010). Viewing social content broadcasted in the network might draw passive users' attention to social interactions in which they are not involved, inducing loneliness. Additionally, passive observation could provoke upward social comparison. Qualitative work with adolescents and college students (Livingstone 2008; Manago et al. 2008) and a large scale international survey of over 1000 Facebook users of various ages (McAndrew and Jeong 2012) suggest that social comparison is quite common on social networking sites. Chou and Edge (2012) concluded that time spent on Facebook looking at content posted by distant acquaintances, including their online exchanges with friends, predicts college students' beliefs that other people have better lives than they do. Youth don't properly attribute self-promotional communications on Facebook to the norms and context of the site, and instead, imagine a rosy picture of acquaintances' lives. Haferkamp and Kramer (2011) found that observing a physically attractive, compared to an unattractive, Facebook user led to lower body image and less positive emotions. Exposure to attractive peer presentations online could have a more powerful effect than exposure to beautiful celebrities because the former are more relevant standards for self-evaluation. These findings point to the importance of examining the nature of the interactions happening on Facebook, which may further complicate our understanding of the connections between Facebook friendship and happiness. Next we consider the second affordance of social networking sites, capabilities for digital communications to the network.

Affordance 2: Broadcast self-expressions or privately chat *Do increased opportunities for self-expression in friendships promote happiness?* Much of the research on social networking sites has focused on public broadcasts to the network; however, Facebook also allows for private chatting between friends. Valkenburg and Peter (2011) propose that private Internet chatting between adolescent close friends can actually foster emotional closeness because the disinhibiting effects of computer-mediated communication provokes self-disclosure and thus intimacy (see also Walther 1996). A number of studies confirm this proposition, showing that online peer communications among adolescents encourage both self-disclosure and intimacy (Bonetti et al. 2010; Davis 2012; Schouten et al. 2007). However, whether these online experiences of intimacy promote happiness has not been clearly examined; it could depend on how these online interactions intersect with, inform or influence, offline interactions.

Research has focused on self-disclosures via the status update feature on Facebook, which broadcasts communications to the entire network at once. A one-to-many style of communication to vast expanses of acquaintances could be a convenient way to call forth social support or companionship, which may lead to increased

happiness. Barkhuus and Tashiro (2010) demonstrated that "peripheral" friendships or "light" friendships could be a source of life satisfaction for college students in the digital age because it fosters ad-hoc socializing accommodated to mobile and busy lives. For example, college students broadcast comments such as "I need caffeine" to everyone in the network, which reaches another person in the network needing coffee, thus facilitating a meet-up. In fact, social networking site users across a variety of age ranges actually have more face-to-face interactions than non-users (Brandtzaeg 2012). Another qualitative study demonstrated that college students post emotional comments via status updates and though they admit that some comments may be rather glib, they feel a sense of satisfaction knowing that someone out there cares how they are doing (Vitak and Ellison 2013).

Quantitative studies confirm that self-disclosures via status updates may be a new route to happiness in the digital age. In a survey study with South Korean college students about their use of the social networking site Cyworld, self-disclosure on the site was positively correlated with subjective well-being (Lee et al. 2011). In an experimental study with American college students, participants who were randomly assigned to increase the frequency of their status updates reported reduced loneliness compared to participants in a control condition (Deters and Mehl 2012). The decrease in loneliness was associated with increases in feelings of social connection, and this effect was independent of whether or not people in the network responded to participants' posts. These authors suggest that perhaps simply imagining that people are reading your posts, and thus paying attention to you, is a quick fix to feelings of disconnection. Similarly, college students commonly use the status update for emotional self-disclosure and the more people they estimate to be regularly reading their status updates, the higher their life satisfaction (Manago et al. 2012).

The content of these self-disclosures could also be a factor in the association between status updates and happiness. Some studies suggest that posting about one's negative emotional state is akin to rumination, which fosters indulgence in that negative emotional state, and thus low levels of subjective well-being (Locatelli et al. 2012). In contrast, college students who report presenting themselves favorably using status updates (i.e. "I only show the happy side of me"), also report feeling good about themselves and their lives (Kim and Lee 2011). However, this same study found that found that college students who disclosed more about their emotional needs on Facebook and received social support in the form of comments, reported higher subjective well-being. Other studies show that positive feedback via comments on Facebook can lead to higher levels of self-esteem (Valkenburg et al. 2006) and decreased anxious-depressive symptoms (Szwedo et al. 2012).

The relative intimacy of the network may be a moderating factor in the association between public emotional self-disclosure on Facebook and happiness. Yang and Brown (2012) found that the frequency of status updates was associated with poor psycho-social adjustment and loneliness only among college student participants who reported using Facebook to meet new people, and thus likely had less intimate networks. Other studies confirm that those with smaller, tight-knit Facebook networks are more likely to emotionally disclose via status updates and report higher levels of emotional social support from Facebook (Kim and Lee

2011; Stutzman et al. 2012). These findings as a whole suggest a tradeoff between large and close social networks. More intimate networks can provide a more supportive environment for more authentic, less promotional self-expressions in the pursuit of happiness; for larger, less intimate networks, it may be more adaptive in the pursuit of happiness to promote a positive self-image. Self-image is clearly a salient issue for social media users in the millennial generation. Social experiences online require and provide tools for crafting a digital image of the self, the topic of the next section.

Affordance 3: Manicure Digital Self-Presentations *Do increased opportunities to project a favorable image of the self in friendships promote happiness?* In the shift from offline to online self-presentations, the individual faces the task of projecting an image representing one's identity onto a digital screen. This involves increased self-consciousness in crafting a self for others' consumption, meaning increased attention to, and control over, one's appearance (Kramer and Winter 2008; Manago et al. 2008; Salimkhan et al. 2010; Zhao et al. 2008). Face-to-face self-presentations are alive in the moment; they arise out of spontaneous, synchronous, and enriched social cues. In contrast, Facebook self-presentations entail strategic self-presentation. They often involve selecting flattering photos, posting premeditated clever comments, sharing only noteworthy life events, engineering social exchanges to advertise social attractiveness, and associating oneself with esteemed audio-visual content recycled from other online sources. Research demonstrates that simply observing one's own Facebook profile boosts self-esteem because one is experiencing a favorable, manicured reflection of the self, manifested into a social reality (Gentile et al. 2012; Gonzales and Hancock 2011). Thus, circulating socially desirable images of the self to an audience of friends represents a new route by which positive self-views could be enhanced through digital friendships.

Yet, public presentations of the self in social interactions could also increase the pressure to create a self-image that will appeal to the masses. In this way, the tyranny of demands to be successful and attractive amidst the propagation of self-promotional content on social networking sites could have adverse effects on happiness. Because attention to the self is very much experienced and sought after on social networking sites (Donath 2008; Livingstone 2008; Manago et al. 2012; Tufekci 2008), youth may be socialized to seek attention and feedback from others in order to feel happy about who they are. In fact, university students who reported higher levels of photo sharing on Facebook also showed higher levels of public-based contingencies of self-worth; that is, they derived their self-worth from their appearance and approbation from others (Stefanone et al. 2011). Private based contingencies of self-worth, such as virtue and family closeness, were associated with less frequent social networking site use. Although more research is needed, there is some evidence to suggest that while Facebook provides new opportunities to circulate a positive self-image among one's network of friends and acquaintances, and thus achieve higher levels of self-esteem, the use of social networking sites may also foster a more fragile sense of self, where happiness is dependent on image. In

fact, a study addressing a spectrum of psychological disorders showed that more frequent impression management on Facebook was associated with more depressive symptoms (Rosen et al. 2013).

New affordances for crafting a digital self in online social interactions seem to offer both risks and opportunities for happiness. On the one hand it may provide new opportunities to be the best that you can be and reify that ideal self in social interactions. Alternatively, an emphasis on external appearances and manicured selves marketed to diverse networks online could present young people with an impossible quest for perfection, especially during this sensitive period for identity development.

Conclusions

Sociocultural changes associated with the proliferation of communication technologies are vast. In this review, we have illustrated some of the ways in which social networking sites represent a cultural tool designed for customized sociality adapted to a society of networked individualism. One obvious implication of customized sociality for future research on friendship and happiness can be summed up by the idea of instant gratification: social stimulation, companionship, affection, support, when you want it, how you want it. Gratification of needs may support positive affect and life satisfaction in the short term, but perhaps the question moving forward is whether this form of happiness is sustainable. We conclude this chapter with provocative studies that speak to this issue.

In a series of experimental studies addressing the paradox that Facebook use is associated with feelings of connection and disconnection, Sheldon et al.(2011) determined that disconnection motivates Facebook use. They further found that although Facebook use does increase feelings of connection, it does not reduce feelings of disconnection. The authors propose that their data demonstrate how Facebook is a temporary fix for loneliness, "a source of transient positive affect" that does fully satiate our need for deeper forms of social connection. Deters and Mehl (2012) conclude from their study of status update activity that Facebook represents a form of "social snacking," a temporary form of social interaction to tide one over until a more substantial meal of social interaction is available. There is physiological evidence for this perspective. An experimental study measuring a host of psychophysiological effects of Facebook use, including skin conductance, pupil dilation, blood volume pulse, respiration, and brain activation showed that Facebook evokes a core flow state characterized by high positive valence and high arousal (Mauri et al. 2011). These findings present evidence of the benefits of Facebook use for happiness. However, this core flow state could also induce a psychosocial hedonic treadmill, an arousal state that is highly pleasurable and rewarding but also self-focused and one that leaves us feeling depleted rather than fulfilled. Facebook could hook youth into easy forms of relatedness that provide instant pleasure and

moment-to-moment reward that distracts from stable friendships based on mutuality and consistency.

Future research must employ more experimental and longitudinal studies that consider the intersections between youths' online and offline friendship experiences over time. Cultural developmental approaches that examine the meaning and practices surrounding friendship, intimacy, and acquaintanceship in various contexts and the ways social skills are acquired and developed within friendships will be needed to understand both the risks and opportunities young people face as they seek to build quality relationships to thrive and find happiness in a society of networked individualism.

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Part III
Friendship and Happiness Across Cultures

Friendship and Happiness in Navajos (Bik'éí Diné Baa' Hózhó)

Angela A. A. Willeto

Although the relationship between friendship and happiness has been studied in different subpopulations in the USA and in different cultures (Demir et al. 2013), research on the topic among the Indigenous People of the USA, including the Navajo, is scarce. One of the aims of this chapter is contribute to the friendship and happiness scholarship by investigating the research on Navajos in this arena. Firstly, in order to provide context for the audience, the chapter begins with an overview of the Navajo. Secondly, given the scarcity of research produced, a broad approach to the topic is incorporated by examining the historical record as well as traditional Navajo views of friendship and happiness. Then, empirical studies are surveyed to reveal interesting patterns concerning friendship, and the need for additional research is addressed in the conclusions.

The Navajo

Navajos (Diné) are members of the Navajo Nation, a Native American tribal nation whose substantial reservation is located in the southwestern region of the United States of America within the state boundaries of northwest Arizona, northeast New Mexico and southeastern Utah. Navajo's comprise one of the largest tribal nations of the 565 federally recognized tribes in the U.S., with 332,129 people self-identifying as Navajo in the 2010 U.S. Census (Norris et al. 2012; United States Department of the Interior [USDOI] 2013). Survey questionnaire design usually subsumes

A. A. A. Willeto (✉)
Department of Sociology & Social Work, College of Social & Behavioral Sciences, Northern Arizona University, Building 65, Room 330, McConnell Drive, Flagstaff, AZ 86011, USA
e-mail: Angela.Willeto@nau.edu

Navajo affiliation and identity within the American Indian/Alaska Native[1] (AI/AN) or Native American racial-ethnic categories which is often further collapsed in the "other" racial-ethnic category due to their comparatively small size. American Indian/Alaska Natives alone comprise 0.9 % of the total U.S. population, while Navajos are 0.096 % (Norris et al. 2012). A federal governmental entity, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (B.I.A.) is tasked with the charge of collecting and reporting official tribal membership enrollments, their most recent reporting of the official Navajo Nation tribal enrollment is 273,872 (USDOI 2005). Due to the important advent of passing a significant milestone; in July of 2011, the Navajo Nation Census Office released their official tribal membership count of 300,048 (Roanhorse 2011). What we can conclude from the most recent data is that most Navajos who self-identify as Navajo are also enrolled in the Navajo Nation.

While Navajos are members of a numerically large tribal nation whose ancestral and official land base is in the southwestern U.S. where most Navajos reside, Navajos are also spread throughout the entire U.S. and the world. Diné, translates to "The People", is the term Navajos customarily use to refer to themselves in Diné Bizaad (Navajo language); and also to a lesser extent, the term Naabeehó[2] (the way Diné pronounce 'Navajo') is used. Navajo is also the language that has the most speakers of any Native American language north of Mexico; an American Community Study (A.C.S.) report by the U.S. Census counted over 170,000 Navajo speakers (Shin and Kominski 2010). However, the Navajo language is also identified as endangered as younger Navajos have increasingly become predominantly English speakers (Golla 2007; House 2002; Platero 2001). Given U.S. Federal Indian policy in early U.S. and Indian relations, when there were intense efforts to assimilate, acculturate, Americanize and Christianize the Indigenous Peoples of Native North America, of which the elimination of Native languages was a central objective, the reduction of Navajo speakers should come as no surprise (Goodkind et al. 2010; Wilkins 2002). However, there are Navajo language revitalization efforts underway that aim to increase the use of Diné Bizaad, especially among the youth; though House (2002) questions the effectiveness of these well-intentioned efforts. Hence, Navajo speaking ability ranges from mono-Navajo speakers, mostly among the elders to bilingual Navajos where they are adroit in both English and Navajo to mono-English speakers with almost no comprehension of Navajo. Embedded within these typologies are those who comprehend Navajo when it is spoken to them, but who do not have full Diné Bizaad speaking abilities.

The U.S. Federal Government awarded annual appropriations to support the assimilation and acculturation work of benevolent societies and Christian missionaries among American Indians and Alaska Natives with the passage of the Civilization

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[1] The terms American Indian and Alaska Native, American Indian/Alaska Native, American Indian, Native, Native American, Indian, Indigenous Peoples of North America are used interchangeably throughout this manuscript to refer to the Indigenous Peoples of the United States.

[2] The terms Navajo, Diné, and Naabeehó will be used interchangeably throughout this manuscript to refer to Navajos. Also note that the spelling of Navajo with an 'h' (Navaho) sometimes occurs in early scholarship.

Fund Act (CFA) of 1819 (Berkhofer 1967, as cited in Utter 2001). This action runs contrary to the tenets of the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution (ratified in 1791) regarding the separation of church and state. Yet, the result was widespread missions and Indian boarding schools across Native American communities whose entire aim was to civilize and Christianize the Indian, driving out all elements of Indigenous cultural ways.

Hence, there is a wide magnitude of spiritual beliefs practiced by Navajos, encompassing traditional Navajo Ways to the existence of The Native American Church (NAC) of Navajoland to various Christian sects and religions in contemporary society, as well as the non-belief and non-practice of some Navajos (Aberle 1966; House 2002). Further, Navajos express varying levels of attachment, or traditionalism, to multifaceted dimensions of Navajo culture (Willeto 1999). Adding to this range is the complexity of those Diné who embrace and observe a complex fusion of these various spiritual practices (Begay and Maryboy 2000). The other component of the CFA concerns the utilization of mission and Indian boarding schools whose initial goal was to save the souls of the heathen Indian by converting them to Christianity and their methods involved excessively strict discipline (Brave Bird and Erdoes 2010; Utter 2001). Many of these schools were later taken over and administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) which continued to use harsh discipline and predominantly equipped Native students for employment in the lower service sector of the wage labor economy rather than roundly educate (Littlefield 2001, as cited in Lobo and Talbot 2001). However, today schools of all types serve Navajo students, including public, Navajo tribally controlled contract and grant, private mission and other church or faith-based schools, and BIA boarding and day schools that have since modified their practices to being more understanding and supportive of Native cultures.

This introduction serves to familiarize the reader with the Navajo, in so doing illustrate the impact of assimilationist policies espoused by the U.S. government and the resulting diversity evident among the Navajo People. Hence, Euro-American cultural influences have impacted Navajos, yet the Diné have not wholly succumbed to these influences. "Navajos have always been moving, changing, adapting, coping with the more rigorous and brutal forms of upheaval and displacement. That they have persisted, even thrived, into the present century is ample testimony to their cultural strength and centeredness" (House 2002, p. 90).

Indeed, Navajos are noted for their resilience and ability to endure by incorporating elements of external culture into Navajo society (Vogt 1961, cited in Quintero 1995). For example, when the Spanish introduced sheep into Diné society in the early contact period, Navajos wholly embraced sheep to such an extent that in a verb-dominated language known for relatively few nouns, they created one, *dibé* to refer to this remarkable domesticated animal.

Furthermore, Navajo wars with Americans culminated in their defeat when Colonel Christopher "Kit" Carson and his troops utilized a scorched earth campaign that starved the Diné into surrendering. They were then forced to march to the Bosque Redondo reservation in Fort Sumter, New Mexico (Hwéeldí). This event is known as the Long Walk where they spent 4 years in exile at Hwéeldí during which

time many perished. Sheep were a significant part of their population recovery upon returning to their sacred homeland (Dinétah) from the inhumane conditions they endured while interned at Hwéeldí. The provision of sheep was included in their final and binding treaty with the United States of America (1868). Diné animal husbandry efforts were quite successful; so much that dibé became a mainstay in the Navajo diet as well as a substantial component of their economy since sheep's wool could be used to create beautiful rugs for which Navajos are renowned. However, the U.S. government became concerned about overgrazing and erosion of the Navajo reservation and they enforced a program of livestock reduction in the 1930s–1940s, hence, the Diné mourned the slaughtering of numerous herds of livestock, including dibé (Aberle 1966). Besides the devastating cultural impact of losing their valuable livestock, they also experienced significant economic damage.

While there is noteworthy diversity within the Navajo population, a distinctive Diné culture has persevered in spite of deliberate attempts to eradicate it, most likely the result of resistance to full assimilation (House 2002). As such, notions of friendship and happiness will be quite heterogeneous among this population. Moreover, I know of no investigations of any sort regarding friendship and happiness among Navajos. Only last year, I contributed a chapter entitled "Happiness among Navajos (Diné Ba' Hózhó)" to an edited collection on *Happiness Across Cultures: Views of Happiness and Quality of Life in Non-Western Cultures* (Willeto 2012). The lived practice and philosophy of walking in happiness and walking in beauty (Hózhó Násháádóó and Nizhónigóó Násháádóó) were the foundation upon which this work lay. As central elements in Diné lifeway's, epistemology, metaphysics and philosophy, the extant literature on the topic is widespread. As a Diné raised within a Navajo family, socialization processes embedded Hózhó Násháádóó and Nizhónigóó Násháádóó into my life, which are reinforced and ingrained further by marital partnering with a traditional Navajo who actively participates in traditional spiritual ceremonial life. Given the emphasis on the familial kinship system (K'é) as exemplified in clan connections to immediate and extended family, the community, the natural world, the divine (Holy People), and the universe; walking in happiness hinges on ideals and principles surrounding family.

This chapter extends the subject to include friendship, a subject only cursorily addressed in any literature pertaining to Navajos. For example, in reviewing the literature on Navajos, investigations into the table of contents and index, if it was included, of many books searching for "friends" or "friendship" yielded no results in numerous classic works on Navajos (Aberle 1966; Dyk 1938; Farrella 1996; Kluckhohn and Leighton 1946; Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961; Lamphere 1977; Locke 1990; Reichard 1969; Underhill 1956; Vogt and Albert 1966). As a result, discussion on friendship and happiness among Navajos will be exploratory and wide-ranging in character since no empirical datasets are readily available for analysis and the scholarship produced on the topic is rather slight. In fact, this article required substantial efforts to ferret out information on friends and friendships. It appears this topic is in need of primary research investigation. From a positive perspective, this broad approach to the topic is consistent with the holistic paradigm characteristic of the Navajo worldview.

Historical and Traditional Views of Friendship

From the traditional Diné outlook, a discussion of history must always be recounted as it imparts essential lessons, both from the perspective of historical relationships developed as a result of colonialism as well as from the standpoint of epistemological traditions.

Historical: Treaty Language

The Navajo have a long history of conflict with some neighboring tribes and the newcomers to the southwestern region as these groups encroached upon the traditional Navajo land use areas; warring, raiding of livestock and capturing people occurred on both sides. As such, in attempts to bring an end to the battles, Navajos have signed treaties with Spain, Mexico, and the United States of America where pledges of peace and *friendship* were usually stipulated between the Diné and these nations, but these treaty promises were broken time after time (Brugge1971). However, only the last treaty which followed Diné interment at Hwéeldí was binding and warring conflicts ended soon afterwards. In the Treaty of 1868 between the United States of America and the Navajo, the U.S. reiterates their numerous vows of friendship,

> In consideration of the advantages and benefits conferred by this treaty, and the many pledges of *friendship* [italics added] by the United States, the tribes who are parties of this agreement hereby stipulate that they will relinquish all right to occupy any territory outside their reservation, … (USA 1868, p. 10)

It is ironic that the term friendship is used in treaty language when the paramount objective of the Americans was to gain control over Navajo lands in order to facilitate the safe passage of gold prospectors through Dinétah and also to build railways through the region. Additionally in the 1868 treaty, a reservation is delineated in order to restrict Diné freedom:

> for the use and occupation of the Navajo tribe of Indians, and for such other *friendly* [italics added] tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit among them … (USA 1868, p. 3)

This passage hints at the traditional ties of friendship manifest among the Navajo and other tribes, both as a group and at the individual level. However, it also suggests the non-friendly character of dealings with other tribes as well. In regards to the former, Navajo accounts document the friendships evident across tribal lines, particularly with various Pueblo[3] groups. Narbona, one of the Headmen of the Diné conveys a shift away from friendly relations:

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[3] Pueblo is a term to refer to the many tribes that are characterized by dwelling in villages and adobe structures in the southwestern U.S. For example, Acoma, Hopi, Isleta, Jemez, Laguna, Zuni, etc… Diné also have a term to refer to Pueblos, 'Kiiyaa'sáaanii, but also utilize terms to refer to specific tribes as well.

Time and again, Narbona's father and other Navajo warriors struck at the Spanish rancherias along the Rio Grande and Rio Puerco. Narbona listened as his father told of these faraway places and of the Navajos who were slaves there. "We used to live there," his father said. "As free as the wind, we hunted and grazed our flocks in the river valleys. We had many *friends* [italics added] among the Pueblo people. Now they have been turned against us by the Spaniards, and the Navajos who still live in those valleys are slaves." (Hoffman and Johnson 1970, p. 20)

Historically, Indigenous Peoples of the Americas took part in an exchange system preceding European invasion, demonstrating political alliances, engaging in intermarriages, bartering material cultural items across tribal lines, etc… (Salisbury 2000). It is clear that Navajos likewise participated in this exchange system in various ways, one of them being of a political nature that became social and cultural as well. It is likely that some Navajos participated in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 where most of the Pueblo tribes formed an alliance under the leadership of Popé, and drove the Spaniards out of Territory of New Mexico owing to their cruel colonization practices. Moreover, the origin of the Navajo clan 'Coyote Pass People' (Maii Deeshgiizhnii) is traced to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 (Brugge 2002). After 12 years of self-governance, many Pueblos fled their territories to take refuge with Navajos when the Spaniards returned with the goal of re-conquering New Mexico and its inhabitants (Preucel 2002).

Navajo Biographies

In their published biographies, Diné refer to their friendships in numerous ways. However, no specific mention is made of how friendship influences happiness. Rather, happiness in these relationships seems to be implied. It is telling that Diné share these stories of friendship when conveying their life histories in their biographies, yet researchers of the Navajo seldom make mention of it. For example, Annie Dodge Wauneka, a Navajo Tribal Councilwoman tells of how she rapidly made friends when enrolled in the Albuquerque Indian School, and her closest friends being Pueblo girls (Hoffman and Johnson 1970). Dr. Taylor McKenzie, the first Navajo doctor of medicine and former Navajo Nation Vice President, recalls times during his childhood when he and his grandmother would gather with extended family and other Navajo tribal people to harvest piñon nuts. This would be a time of great fun and happiness for the children when many of them forged their earliest friendships (Hoffman and Johnson 1970).

The study of Diné biographies to focus on and extract their views, opinions, and feelings about friendship and happiness would be an extensive research project in and of itself; yet, such a project would make a meaningful contribution to the literature.

Navajo Lifeways—Socio-cultural Elements

Navajo Language and Friendship

Previously, I reported my findings of a review of literature on Navajos concerning the topic of "friends" or "friendship" in the table of contents and index, which generated no results. Likewise, searches for journal articles on the topic using academic search engines (i.e. EBSCOhost) also generated no substantive results. These results could lead one to presume that there is little to no scholarship produced on friendship and happiness among Navajos. But, does that mean Navajos have little to say regarding the value of friendship and happiness? Or, perhaps, researchers of Navajos may have disregarded this element in Navajo life not deeming it worthy to scrutinize given all the other features of significance in the Diné world that had greater appeal to investigators. This is rather paradoxical considering that in order for Western trained researchers to gain admittance to, and secure the cooperation of Navajo People in their research undertakings; the establishment of friendly relations of some sort would have been a prerequisite. Though, it is likely that Western trained investigators would predominantly use the scientific method that encourages the use of objectivity and suppress discussion on friendships formed with the research subjects. Then again, investigations into aspects of positive well-being are fairly recent, and like well-being studies in general, the inclusion of Native North Americans does not usually transpire (Willeto 2007).

In any case, Diné Bizaad (Navajo language) has a term for friends: *shi'kis*[4]. Also, performing a quick internet search on "Navajo terms for friends" produced some useful information. Such as Teller's website, where he states that there are also terms used to refer to best friends: *shił naa'aash*, for example. Given the diversity of Navajo Peoples, there are also a variety of terms to refer to one's friends, including *ałhi sikée łeh* (visits him/her often), or *yił ahéédiit'aash* (runs around with him/her) that are used in different parts of Dinétah or locales where Navajos reside (2013).

Social Interaction

Diné are known for decidedly prizing social interaction and mainstream research indicates that, "establishing and maintaining friendships contributes to happiness by fulfilling a fundamental human need for social interaction" (Demir et al. 2013, p. 862). Both historically and in contemporary Navajo society, there are numerous instances of social interactions at the micro, meso and macro levels. Horse racing and other sporting events, piñon nut harvesting, sheep dipping and shearing, lambing season, meetings and events held at the chapter house, family and clan reunions,

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[4] *"Shi'kis" is a possessive term which means 'my friend'; "A'kis" is a more general term which means 'friend'. In the Navajo language, relationships to one another are typically specified.*

traditional expectations regarding hospitality and lodging, journeys to the trading post, trips to the post office and grocery store, flea markets, social gatherings such as the Shoe Game, tribal fairs, Song and Dance events, feast days, school activities, intertribal celebrations, pow wows, and spiritual and ritual ceremonies and obser-vances of all kinds are several that come to mind.

Navajo Lifeways—Epistemology, Metaphysics and Philosophy

To the Diné who are anchored in more traditional Navajo Ways, the aim in life is to walk in happiness and walk in beauty (Hózhó Násháádóó and Nizhónigóó Násháádóó) throughout one's lifespan. "True happiness for Navajos is related to their behavior; that is, the practice of living in harmony, based on the principles and philosophies associated with longevity and immortality, peace, order and balance" (Willeto 2012, p. 379). To accomplish this involves incorporating the life-giving principles of Sạ'ah Naagháí and Bik'eh Hózhó into one's existence.

> Living in harmony is the lived principle of walking in happiness or walking in beauty. The principles and philosophical beliefs in the significance of the completion of a harmony-lived normative old age life cycle into immortality, or attaining old age in a beautiful way and on a beautiful path (*Sạ'ah Naagháí*), is the epitome of harmony, peace, and order/bal-ance (*Bik'eh Hózhó*). When Sạ'ah Naagháí Bik'eh Hózhó are phrased and spoken together, to traditional Diné their meaning elevates to the life-giving forces since creation that con-nect to the cosmos and universe. These practices, principles and philosophical beliefs and values refer to the goal of endeavoring to live in harmony and balance with oneself, one's loved ones, one's community, the natural world, and the universe throughout one's life span. This is the process which brings profound happiness and positive well-being to Nava-jos. (Willeto 2012, p. 379)

In this section, I attempt to apply these values, beliefs and philosophy to the case of friendship. The challenge herein lies in the circumstance that Diné are known for their emphasis on familial kinship ties, which is rooted in Sạ'ah Naagháí Bik'eh Hózhó, and links them to the Holy People (Diyin Diné'e) through their creation of the Diné. Further, the familial kinship (K'é) system is embodied in the use of the clan system, wherein matrilineal descent determines a person's primary clan affilia-tion. A person is 'born for' their father's clan, while their maternal grandfather and paternal grandfather's clans are identified as well. Researchers observe that Navajos address and often make everyone their kin, even strangers (Witherspoon 1975).

> The Navajo kinship system guides, teaches, and orients. In the narrowest sense, it informs as to who one's blood relations are. More significantly, the kinship system classifies the world into categories such that proper relationships with everyone can be defined. These relationships allow an individual to live not within a world full of strangers but in a world full of relatives, with whom one ideally relates in a reciprocal, respectful fashion. (Lewton and Bydone 2000, p. 479)

From a comprehensive, philosophical viewpoint, Diné interconnect to all other Diné through Są'ah Naagháí Bik'eh Hózhó as exemplified in the K'é (familial) system by means of living in Hózhó; as such all Navajos are related to each other, some more distantly than others, however. It is also the case that Navajos have strong prohibitions regarding incestuous relations. As such, there are marital and sexual partnering restrictions on endogamous clan partnering (within one's own clan and one's father's clans) as these clan affiliations are viewed as sibling and/or cousin relationships. Therefore, from this perspective, not all Navajos are closely related, otherwise only tribally and racially exogamous marital relations would be allowed, which is not the case.

While both of these philosophical and epistemological elements of Są'ah Naagháí Bik'eh Hózhó are required to live in harmony, beauty, and serenity (or Hózhó); the stem of this phrase, *Bik'eh Hózhó* specifically refers to happiness. In the Navajo worldview, the daily lived practice of Hózhó in one's life requires happy and harmonious relations with oneself, one's family, one's loved ones, one's community, the natural world, the divine world, and the universe throughout one's lifespan. An example of a loved one, the family home, which is a female hogan (hooghan ba'áád) is akin to one's mother with all the feelings of love and respect intact and expected in the mother relationship. Wilson Aronilth (1985) explains how one should behave in their family home (hooghan ba'áád) towards family and friends, "…when you are inside this home, be kind, show respect towards people, use good words when you talk. Don't criticize your relatives and *friends* [italics added] inside of your home" (cited in Schwartz 1997, p. 44). In relation to ceremonies where the practice of Hózhó occurs at the individual, familial, communal, natural world, and spiritual (Holy People and the universe) realms; friends are included and actively participate at these events. Schwartz reports on the presence of close friends at a traditional Navajo wedding ceremony ('Iigeh), and a Baby's First Laugh ceremony ('Awéé' Ch'ídaadlóóhgó Bá na'a'néé) (1997). In the case of the Navajo wedding, one's kin connections expand to include the new relatives, the in-laws.

While traditionally, it was customary to attempt to make everyone (animate or inanimate) one meets or knows into a kin relation (via blood, clan or in-law connections), it also clear the mainstream culture has impacted Navajo society along with, perhaps, Western notions of friends and friendship. Further, it is also common practice for Navajos to greet unrelated individuals with the expression: "Hello, my friend" (Yá'át'ééh shi'kis). I have heard this phrase expressed repeatedly throughout my own lifespan. However, was this the case centuries ago? Hence, contemporary Diné endeavoring to live in Hózhó reflect having happy and harmonious social relations with primarily with relatives, but this also includes friends. Research with other groups provides evidence of the positive benefits, including happiness, that friendships demonstrate (Demir et al. 2013). From an epistemological standpoint, friends and friendships fit nicely into the Hózhó philosophy, but empirical research has not directly addressed this topic in the social relations of the Diné.

Research on Friendship and Happiness

The topic of happiness among Navajos primarily centers on the Diné philosophy of Hózhó, albeit Hózhó is ordinarily conceptualized as harmony and balance in life when discussed in the scholarly literature, most of which was produced in the 1900s (Willeto 2012). In contrast, research on Navajos where the topic of friendship is covered to some degree primarily orients on the adverse effect of friends in the lives of Navajos. Although this negative orientation could be a legacy of the social problems, risk factors, or deficits-based approach dominant in research investigations, studies utilizing resiliency framework are needed (Galliher et al. 2011). Interestingly, from the traditional Diné standpoint, these mainstream analyses of Navajo happiness and friendship would be explained by the manifestation or absence of Hózhó in an individual Navajo's life. For example, when a person is living in Hózhó their life is replete with happiness and friendship. However, when a person and/or their family is not living in Hózhó, one trajectory would lead these people to seek a form of friendship and happiness based on aberrant lifestyles.

Peer Groups

In a qualitative study ($N = 37$) designed to explore the consequence of historical trauma, that occurs as part of the colonization process, as an influence on Diné (Navajo) youth's mental health and well-being, Goodkind et al. (2012) interviewed three generations: Diné youth, parents and elders. In response to interviewer's questions about how study participants deal with stress in their lives, many Navajo youth underscored the importance of friends in helping them cope with stress and making themselves feel better. In contrast, neither of the older generations, parents and elders cited friends as part of a useful coping strategy for addressing their own stress. While this study does not specify happiness as a correlate of friendship, the pattern demonstrated appears to be analogous to what has been obtained in the literature concerning the differential influence of friendship on happiness over the life course with the importance of friends being most salient at younger ages (Demir et al. 2013).

Goodkind et al. (2012) also reported on a mother who stated the importance of communication when going through challenging periods, referred to her child getting into trouble with different friends at school. Hence, while youth cite friends as part of a helpful coping mechanism in dealing with stress, their parents highlight the harmful influence of their children's friends on their child(ren).

The parent's findings highlight a recurrent theme in the (limited number of) scholarly literature produced, which concerns the adverse role that peer groups, or friends play among Navajos. Quintero reports that, "when groups of unrelated men are drinking, they often refer to each other as *sik'is*" (1995, p. 79). *Shi'kis* translates to 'my friend'. Equally troubling is the emergence of a Navajo youth culture centered on gang lifestyles that are quite divergent from the traditional family based

(K'é) culture (Kunitz and Levy 2000). Dramatic social changes have differentially impacted Navajo youths with the rise in school attendance and the shifting character of school types available after the 1960s, as well as the proliferation of low-income tribal housing arranged in clusters located in agency towns in addition to the deleterious economic impact of stock reduction programs in the 1930s resulting in high rates of poverty due to the limited availability of secure employment. Hence, Navajo youth were brought together in unprecedented ways and the troubling and problematic presence and behavior of gangs soon developed in the 1970s among some alienated segments of the young population wherein ties of friendship play a key role (Henderson and Kunitz 1999; Mendenhall and Armstrong 2004).

> Friendship and peer relations were predominant factors mentioned in narratives about what led to initial involvement in a gang or crew. Numerous respondents said these kinds of things: "I grew up with these guys." "I grew up with a bunch of gang-bangers—I was brought into the gang by friends." "My friends were doing it so I did it. My friends started the gang." 33 respondents said that one of the significant benefits they got from being in their gang or crew was friendship. Another motivating factor they mentioned for gang involvement was belonging to something. They described gang involvement as a natural function of growing up and hanging out in the neighborhood—of "being born into the gang;" belonging to a particular group; the gang or crew being a group that sticks together; and helping each other and watching each other's back. Many described their gang as a strong organization of friends that cannot be splintered and a setting where people do not backstab each other. (Armstrong et al. n. d., pp. 105–106).

Hence, bonds of friendship operate in ways to recruit members into gangs, but also supply a vital connection of support and friendship with others often missing in their families of origin which are usually marked by decidedly dysfunctional behavior, such as substance abuse and family violence (Armstrong et al. n. d.).

In a study of the use of social networks and systems of supports by Navajo adolescent mothers, Dalla and Gamble (1998) report that these young mothers are more likely to turn to family and male partners for help rather than friends or peers. Hence, they demonstrate behavior similar to young Latinas, but unlike Anglo American and African American teen mothers who are likely to turn to formal and informal (friends) sources of support for help. Feeling hesitant and fearful of their friend's reactions to their pregnancy and young motherhood status appears to account for teen Navajo mother's lack of trust in their friends. However, these results are biased by the measures utilized in the study which skew towards family. Hence, as is the case in mainstream society, friendships among Navajo youth pose a complicated set of relationships, both positive and negative.

Elders

Furthermore, although Navajo youth cite the significance of friends in contending with stress, support from family appears to trump support from friends as the foremost means of coping with stress for all generations, including the youth. Interestingly, Diné elders discussed unhappiness as a result of historical trauma: "In many

Native communities, the contemporary status of American Indian mental health remains significantly caught up in history, culture, identity and (especially) spirituality, all within the devastating context of European American colonialism" (Alcántara and Gone 2007, p. 461, cited in Goodkind et al. 2012, p. 1021). These Navajo elders seemed to view unhappiness (as well as a host of other problems) as caused by interaction with White (Euro-American) people and all the destructive byproducts of colonialism, such as the introduction to alcohol and drugs, and the erosion of traditional healthful ways of life following contact (Goodkind et al. 2012).

Conclusions

Walking in happiness and walking in beauty (Hózhó Násháádóó and Nizhónigóó Násháádóó) for the Diné means being in Hózhó; incorporating the lived practice, epistemology and philosophy of Są'ah Naagháí Bik'eh Hózhó. This entails happy and harmonious relations with oneself, one's loved ones (primary and extended family), one's community, the natural world, the Holy People (Diyin Diné'e), and the universe. Hypothetically speaking, embedded within these happy and harmonious relations are social relations with friends. Further, select studies make note of the presence of friends at ceremonies, ceremonies whose principal intent is to advance Hózhó, or secondarily, return people to Hózhó (Schwartz 1997).

Moreover, social changes may afford opportunities to further enhance the ties of friendship among the Diné. For example, while Navajos value family relations above all other connections and exhibit a pro-natal orientation, they are also producing smaller numbers of relatives as the average number of children has decreased over time (McCloskey 1998). Likewise, movement away from the traditional land-based economy where the Diné lived in isolated and small familial camps towards agency towns brings together Navajos in residential clustering patterns previously unheard of. The growth of agency towns combined with the increases in school enrollment appears to have spawned the growth of Navajo gangs that strongly involves friendships (Armstrong et al. n. d.). In addition, the movement of Navajos to urban areas away from Navajo communities presents additional friendship opportunities. However, some research also suggests a more positive pattern where Navajo youth cite the importance of friends in coping with stress, alluding to a beneficial aspect of friendship (Goodkind et al. 2012). Furthermore, the impact of web-based social networking on Navajo friendship and happiness remains unknown, but it is evident from my own familial experience that Navajos, particularly the younger generations, actively utilize these sites.

It is clear that empirical studies are needed to directly examine the relationship of friendship on the happiness of the Diné. One may surmise that friends and friendships have differential influences owing to the philosophical underpinning of Hózhó which promotes positive and harmonious social relations, and some of the findings associated with gangs and alcohol consumption which appears as negative and disharmonious social relations (Armstrong et al.n. d.; Henderson and Kunitz

1999; Mendenhall and Armstrong 2004). This positive/negative juxtapositioning of behavior patterns is evident in the larger Diné metaphysical framework. However, the traditional Diné worldview functions to uphold and stimulate Hózhó (toward the positive) and return people to Hózhó (from the negative). The promotion of Hózhó in one's own life includes constructive and perhaps reciprocal relationships with friends, and thereby produces ultimate happiness and well-being for all concerned.

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Friendship and Happiness in Latin America: A Review

Agnaldo Garcia, Fábio Nogueira Pereira and Maria Daniela Corrêa de Macedo

Latin Americans total almost 600 million people, according to estimative data from the World Bank (2012). Yet, empirical studies investigating the relationships between social life and happiness are scarce compared to data produced in other areas, such as North America and Europe. This paper aims at reviewing the literature on friendship and its relations to happiness, subjective well-being and quality of life in Latin America. The chapter is organized in two parts. In the first part, we review papers dealing specifically with friendship and happiness. In the second part, we have included papers on friendship, subjective well-being and quality of life. The papers reviewed were published in Spanish, Portuguese, and English. All papers reviewed have been published in Latin American journals. In some cases, papers presented in international conferences have been included. As it will be discussed, the investigation on the relations of friendship with happiness and related constructs is still incipient in Latin America.

Friendship and Happiness

Latin American studies focusing specifically on the relationships between friendship and happiness are rare. Greco (2012) conducted in Mendoza, Argentina, one of the few Latin American studies investigating the connections between friendship and happiness. The investigation focused on friendship and happiness in middle childhood, comparing children attending public schools in poor urban areas and children attending private schools in downtown Mendoza. The first group lived in poverty-stricken areas and the second group lived under better socio-economic conditions. The study aimed at evaluating how happiness was experienced and how deep friendship was in these groups, comparing friendship and happiness in both groups. The sample was composed by 200 8-year-old children (100 from public and

A. Garcia (✉) · F. N. Pereira · M. D. Corrêa de Macedo
Federal University of Espírito Santo, Vitória, ES, Brazil
e-mail: agnaldo.garcia@uol.com.br

100 from private schools). Data were collected using a happiness scale and interviews focusing on situations that arouse greater happiness. Data were subject to descriptive and statistical data analysis. The author reports differences in both groups. The interviews aim in investigating the reason why children felt happy, and resulted in 13 categories defined from their content analysis. A frequency analysis indicated that friendship was the main source of happiness. Differences were explained by the context of each child. Regarding the social dimension related to happiness, family and friendship are the most important factors that contribute to Argentine children's happiness in both groups of children. In spite of the different contexts and economical possibilities, none of the groups seemed to be unhappy.

Coleta and Coleta (2006) assessed happiness, subjective well-being and the academic behavior of 252 undergraduates in southeastern and central Brazil. When asked directly what they think a good life is, the students reported 14 categories and friendship was the third most frequent, after health and harmony/peace, mentioned by nearly 11% of respondents. In another study in Brazil, Camargo et al. (2011) investigated what adolescents considered necessary to be happy based on individual interviews with the participation of 95 adolescents (48 girls and 47 boys, ages ranging from 12 to 20 years), studying in public schools in Santa Maria, Rio Grande do Sul. The authors asked two questions. The first one referred to "What comes to your mind when you think of happiness" and the second "What is to be happy?" Based on content analysis, nine categories have been proposed for the first question. Participants related "happiness" with *feelings* (28.3%), followed by *family* (24.7%), *satisfaction of material needs and of desire* (14.2%), *friendship* (11.7%), *relationships* (7.7%), *others* (5.3%), *leisure activities* (4.5%), *school* (2.0%) and *self-reference* (1.6%). Regarding the second question, also based on content analysis of the interviews, eight categories were outlined, being the most frequently cited: *feelings* (22.5%), *satisfaction of material needs and of desire* (17.1%), and *leisure activities* (16.7%), relationships (14.4%), *friendship* (11.3%), *family* (10.4%), others (4.9%) and altruism (2.7%). The category "friendship" was observed in the answers to both questions being considered important to the concept of happiness.

Moyano-Díaz et al. (2008) investigated beliefs about the sources of happiness in a sample of street vendors in the Maule Region, Chile. The research team found 1556 sale points and 258 of them were randomly selected for the study. These workers believed that the main sources of happiness are family, followed by work, rest or leisure and finally friends. Another study in the Maule region, in Chile (Moyano-Díaz and Ramos-Alvarado 2007), investigated beliefs about the sources of happiness in a sample of 927 people, workers and students, between 17 and 77 years old. The results indicated that the participants considered their families as the principal source of happiness. Regarding beliefs about the sources of happiness, men and women, regardless of their occupational group and age, indicated family and work as the main sources of happiness (followed by leisure and friends, the four options). An exception to this are college students—the youngest group in the sample—who mentioned friends as the second source of happiness after family. In this case, work was replaced by friends as the second most important source of happiness. According to the authors this is reasonable as these students were 'non-workers'.

In sum, friendship emerged as a factor related to happiness, sometimes as the most important dimension related to happiness. Even when friends were not the main source of happiness, friends were mentioned as a factor related to it.

Friendship, Subjective Well-Being, and Quality of Life

Besides studies on friendship and happiness, some Latin American scholars have also published papers on friendship and subjective well-being, quality of life, and adaptation.

In Colombia, Gómez et al. (2007) studied satisfaction in various life domains (e.g., friends, family, and safety) as predictors of subjective well-being in a large sample of students, faculty members, and others employees at a private university in Colombia ($n=795$). Specifically, the authors investigated satisfaction in 14 domains: health, transport, finance, home, friends, family, freedom, recreation, country situation, future, relationships, job performance or study, personal security, family security, faculty or department you are working or studying. Domains with the highest levels of satisfaction were family, friends and freedom, followed by home, recreation and health. The domain with the lowest level the satisfaction was the country. In all three groups the greatest satisfaction is derived from family. Satisfaction in every life domain but country was positively correlated with the subjective well-being index. Of particular importance, the correlation between satisfaction with friends and happiness was 0.36. Collectively, these domains explained 47 % of the variance in subjective well-being. Although satisfaction with friends emerged as a significant predictor, it had the lowest beta value compared to other variables.

Although Diener et al. (1995) argued that "the correlation between friendship satisfaction and life satisfaction was stronger in individualistic nations and satisfaction with friends was a weaker correlate of life satisfaction in collectivistic societies", their findings show that the correlation between friendship satisfaction and life satisfaction is 0.46 in Brazil. This is a strong correlation and comparable to that obtained in the USA (0.48) and Canada (0.49).

Begle et al. (2012) investigated the relation between social skills, friendship quality and positive affect among children ($n=76$) between the ages of 10 and 12 in Paraná, Argentina. The study variables were positively related to each other in the entire sample. Additional analyses showed that social competence mediated the relationship between friendship quality and positive affect. This study is unique in two ways. First, this is the only study in Latin America that tested a specific mediational model regarding friendship and happiness. Second, although Begle et al. (2012) found support for their model, theory (Segrin and Taylor 2007) and recent research (e.g., Demir et al. 2012) suggests that friendship experiences could explain the association of social skills with happiness. The findings of Begle et al. (2012) might be specific to the cultural context of Argentina and highlights the necessity to further investigate this topic in cross-cultural studies.

In other investigations of well-being and social networks, the participation of friends is not clear. An example is the paper by Mella et al. (2004), in Talcahuano, Chile. Their study explored the relations between different factors associated with the mental health and subjective well-being in older people ($n=15{,}576$), including perceived social support and socio-economic status. Using bivariate analysis the authors found a significant correlation between subjective well-being and perceived social support ($r=0.67$). Unfortunately, it is not clear the role of friends as social support providers.

Also, sometimes friendship has been investigated in relation to quality of life, considered as the perception of an individual of his/her position in the culture and value system he/she lives in relation to his/her objectives, expectations, values and concerns. In Argentina, Mikulic et al. (2011) investigated the importance of and satisfaction with various life domains as indicators of quality of life among 226 university students. Friends received the highest levels of weighted importance and satisfaction followed by values, health, children, study, and self-esteem. The authors also found that younger participants (19–25 years old) assigned greater importance to the quality of their friendships when compared to older participants (26–40 years old). Yet, the satisfaction with friendships did not differ across the age groups.

In Brazil, Segabinazi et al. (2010) developed a Multidimensional Life Satisfaction Scale for Adolescents (MLSSA) which was applied to 425 adolescents attending schools in the city of Santa Maria, in the southern state of Rio Grande do Sul. The results highlighted the importance of friendship for life satisfaction in this age group. Among all seven subscales (Family, Self, Compared Self, School, Non-violence, Self-Efficacy and Friendship) the Friendship subscale had the highest score, supporting previous studies (Huebner et al. 2000) which state that the quality of experiences with friends and peers is an important dimension for the assessment of life satisfaction among adolescents.

Friendship was also investigated in a group of elders in order to understand how friends affected their quality of life in Brazil. Garcia and Leonel (2007) investigated the changes noticed in the interpersonal relationships of the elderly who attended social activities, as well as the changes in new friendships and changes in previous relationships with family and friends. The following points were investigated: (a) relationships in the group; (b) making new friends; (c) differences between old and recent friendships and their influence on previous relationships; (d) influence of new friendships on family relations; (e) meaning and expectation of permanence in the group; (f) willingness for new friendships. A total of 12 women and three men (from 60 to 85 years old) attending a group of dance and an open university for the elderly was interviewed. Among the key findings it was noted that elders were open to new friendships, some preferred new friends instead of old friends and these new friendships were perceived to improve their relations with family members. The authors concluded that the elderly had perceived a significant improvement in their quality of life due to the development of new personal relationships.

Other investigations in Brazil have focused on the role of friendship for the adaptation of African adolescents and young adults under special situations, as the case of adaptation of international students living and studying in Brazil. This is the case

of an investigation conducted in Vitoria by Garcia and Rangel (2011) on friendships of college students from Cape Verde living and studying in Brazil. Twelve Cape-Verdean undergraduate students from the Federal University of Espirito Santo were interviewed using a semi structured protocol, which focused on narratives about episodes related to friendship and social support. The students mentioned as much as 109 friends in total, including 81 Cape Verdeans, 18 Brazilians, six Angolans, one Portuguese, one Guinean, one Santomean and one Honduran. Most friends (72) lived in the Metropolitan Vitoria. The closest friends were described based on personal characteristics, their meaning and relationship with the participant, highlighting the value of friendship and assistance received. Participants were asked to report the events they considered to be the most important in their friendships, episodes they considered remarkable and these events were associated with leisure and help from friends. Most friendships were related to adaptation to Brazil, but only part of them influenced how they perceived the country. Data also suggest that friends were important for the well-being of these students during their time in Brazil.

In another study, Garcia and Goes (2010) investigated adaptation in friendships of college students from Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe studying in Brazil. Twelve interviews have been conducted about friend's network and close friendships. Most friends belonged to the same nationality or they were Brazilians, lived in the same town and the first meeting had occurred in Brazil. Results indicated that these friends shared common interests and activities. Most friendships were perceived as important to their adaptation to Brazil as an answer to a question on "how friends affected your adaptation to Brazil", but only some students recognized the influence of friendships on the way Brazil was perceived. It is concluded that friends are fundamental to social and cultural adaptation of international students in Brazil, which may affect the well-being as well.

Discussion & Conclusions

The relations between friendship and happiness, subjective well-being, quality of life or adaptation are poorly investigated in Latin America. Based on this, we have tried to analyze papers on friendship or happiness that included some reference to happiness or friendship respectively. Studies focusing specifically on the relationships between friendship and happiness are not common in Latin America.

Although the investigation of the topic is limited, one can conclude, based on the available studies, that friendship is perceived to be a source of happiness among individuals in Latin America. Also, a few studies have shown that friendship quality and satisfaction are related to happiness. Overall, findings obtained in Latin America are consistent with the findings reported in other Western cultures (Demir et al. 2013). However, as explained above the investigation of various dimensions of friendships as they relate to happiness is limited and there are at least three limitations of the current studies. First, the concepts and measures used to assess friendship and happiness across studies and the diversity of methods create a problem to

compare data from different studies. Second, it is not clear from the studies reviewed if a definition of friendship was provided to the participants. Finally, although some of the studies are guided by theory but there is rarely an attempt to replicate the findings obtained in other cultures. Accordingly, we suggest that collaboration between scholars in Latin America could help create a common basis, promote using similar methods and constructs (e.g., a similar definition of friendship), and the development measures sensitive to the cultural context when investigating the relationship between friendship and happiness.

As a general overview, different age groups were investigated, including children, adolescents, adults and elders, but studies are sparse and not systematic. Regarding methodological strategies, most of the studies are qualitative in nature. Another group of publications indicates the importance of friends as a source of happiness in different groups. Several Latin American studies have investigated how important friendship was perceived as a source of happiness. Usually, friendship occupies a secondary position, apparently more important in some age groups, such as children and young adults. In other cases, other factors seem to be more important. Family relations, for instance, seem to be more important than friends as a source of happiness. Some data indicate that age group influences how friends influence on happiness. However, it is difficult to generalize data based on a few studies.

Comparing with data on recent reviews of friendship and happiness (Demir et al. 2013), Latin American studies also evidence that having friends and friendship experiences are related to happiness, in different age groups, in different social or cultural groups. However, some basic systematic data, such as the number of friends, frequency of social activity, amount of time spent together, and their relationships with happiness in this population are not available. Findings from different samples, cultures and research methods suggest that friendships are indeed important for happiness. The data available in Latin America suggest that this importance may be variable. In fact, although data are scarce, friendship does not appear as the greatest or only source of happiness. Thus, we agree with Demir et al. (2013) that more research is needed on the topic to further our understanding of the relationship between friendship and happiness, especially in Latin America.

Besides papers on friendship and happiness, some authors investigated the relations between friendship and adaptation to a different culture or to quality of life. These aspects of social life could possibly be related to subjective well-being but they are different concepts with different theoretical backgrounds. So, investigations focusing on the role of friendship for adaptation of adolescents and young adults under special situations, as the case of adaptation and well-being of international students living and studying in Brazil, represent a group of systematic investigations which are related to well-being, but they did not investigated well-being directly.

The limited number of studies is not the only problem. Theoretical and methodological variability are also are obstacles to get a general panorama of research in topics related to friendship and happiness in Latin America. Data available seem to be inconsistent, though this is difficult to state as different constructs and methodologies have been employed. Considering the current situation of investigation

and publication on these topics in Latin America, it would be necessary to expand research on friendships in the continent, specially on the relations between friendship and happiness, or friendship and well-being. This effort should be based on the use of the same research methods and international cooperation. Only cross-cultural, systematic investigation using similar constructs and methodological strategies could make comparison really possible. Therefore, further detailed investigations on these happiness and friendship topics are welcome.

The investigation and publications on topics related to friendship and happiness or well-being are concentrated in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Peru. It would be interesting to involve a larger number of countries in the investigation, in order to reflect cultural diversity in the continent. Although Latin American countries share some cultural background they have also received different cultural influences, and show cultural and social diversity which may possibly be reflected in social and psychological aspects related to friendship and/or happiness found in future studies. The literature is also diversified, using different concepts, constructs and instruments, what makes comparisons quite difficult. Thus, it would be helpful to review the measures used to assess friendship and happiness across studies. The inclusion of different age groups is another element that contributes to make comparisons difficult. Methodological and theoretical concerns vary. It is possible to identify the theoretical influence of Positive Psychology and efforts to develop new instruments to investigate happiness, for instance, in Peru. The same efforts to develop psychological assessment and the construction or validation of research instruments are also present in Brazil. In all five countries considered (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Peru) investigation is restricted to a limited number of authors with a few publications, usually based on their individual initiatives despite possible international cooperation for cross-cultural investigations. Since Latin American studies usually focus on happiness or friendship and rarely on the relationships between both, investments in collaborative research programs would foster the development of knowledge on the relations of friendships and happiness in Latin America and on interpersonal relationships in general. This has given rise to the Latin American Network for Interpersonal Relationship Research—LANIRR**,** a scientific network in Latin American Psychology trying to overcome these problems and make cooperation more frequent in topics such as friendship and happiness.

Cross-cultural investigation on topics related to happiness and friendship in Latin America are not available. Studies seem to be isolated, with different authors conducting investigations based on different theoretical and methodological premises. Peru seems to be the sole exception. It was possible to trace back to a series of studies by the distinguished Peruvian psychologist Reynaldo Alarcon on happiness, including the development of the so called Lima Scale, which was also used by other authors in subsequent studies. Probably, his interest in happiness studies stem from his adoption of Positive Psychology (Alarcón 2000, 2001, 2002, 2006, 2009). In Chile, the investigation of subjective well-being and work in the Maule area is another example of an apparently wider research program, though friendship seems to be a secondary factor in these investigations (Moyano-Díaz et al. 2008;

Moyano-Diaz and Ramos-Alvarado 2007). Systematic studies on friendship and topics related to well-being, such as adaptation, have been conducted by Garcia and collaborators in Brazil (Garcia 2012; Garcia and Goes 2010; Garcia and Leonel 2007; Garcia and Rangel 2011). It is possible to conclude that further investigations and all kinds of cooperation are necessary in order to investigate the relation of friendship and happiness or well-being are welcome.

Regarding future investigation, particularly in Brazil, it would be interesting to integrate personal or individual aspects with social and cultural aspects. This kind of approach has already been present in Islam et al. (2009), for instance, who discussed the objective and subjective indicators of happiness in Brazil and the mediating role of social class (objective and subjective). Islam (2012) states that happiness plays an important social and cultural role in Brazil, discussing the complexity of the happiness construct in Brazil as an everyday life experience and as a cultural national symbol. He presents happiness as a cultural ideal in Brazilian music, literature, and social science and indicates empirical research on subjective happiness in Brazil. According to this author, the theme of happiness plays an important role in Brazilian cultural life, yet there are very few academic discussions about happiness and related constructs in Brazil. Another reason to consider the social and cultural aspects of friendship and happiness in Brazil is based on some points raised by Islam (2012). He considers that happiness in Brazil tends to be viewed relationally suggesting that happiness may be viewed as an interpersonal norm than a personal evaluation, and the necessity to consider the complex social role of happiness and its prevalence as a subjectively felt emotion, investigating the social importance and significance of happiness, relating social life and individual satisfaction.

Two points should be highlighted at this point: the concepts and measures used to assess friendship and happiness across studies. The diversity of methods used makes it difficult to compare data from different studies. It is not clear from the studies reviewed, for instance, if a definition of friendship was provided to the participants. Studies are sometimes guided by theory but are rarely an attempt to replicate findings obtained in other cultures.

Based on the points mentioned above, we can suggest an agenda for future researches. International cooperation efforts aiming at using the same methods and constructs (such as a similar definition of friendship) could help create a common ground, and develop measures sensitive to the cultural context when investigating friendship and happiness.

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Family, Friends, and Subjective Well-being: A Comparison Between the West and Asia

Tianyuan Li and Sheung-Tak Cheng

Relatedness with others is a basic human need (Deci and Ryan 2002); as a result, social relationships play an important role in determining individuals' subjective well-being. Among the various relationships in one's social network, family relationships and friendships are usually the two most important sets of ties. Family relationships and friendships are both considered to be influential on subjective well-being (Adams and Blieszner 1995; Cheng et al. 2009; Fiori et al. 2006). However, as Asian countries are known for their collectivistic cultures and the emphasis on maintaining close and harmonious family relationships (Fuligni et al. 1999; Markus and Kitayama 1991; Yang 2006), it is important to investigate whether the effect of friendship on subjective well-being differs in the Asian context. This chapter first introduces previous theories about the different roles that family ties and friendship ties play in people's lives. Then, empirical studies on the contributions of family relationship and friendship to subjective well-being are reviewed. A comparison is made between findings in Western samples and those in Asian samples. Finally, the implications for friendship ties in the context of weakening family structures in Asia as well as future research directions are discussed.

S.-T. Cheng (✉)
Department of Health and Physical Education, Hong Kong Institute of Education,
New Territories, Hong Kong
e-mail: takcheng@ied.edu.hk; s.cheng@uea.ac.uk

Department of Clinical Psychology, Norwich Medical School, University of East Anglia,
Norwich, United Kingdom

T. Li
Department of Psychological Studies and Centre for Psychosocial Health, Hong Kong Institute
of Education, New Territories, Hong Kong
e-mail: tianyuanli@ied.edu.hk

Family Relationship Versus Friendship

In this section, we review theories about how social network contributes to subjective well-being, particularly concerning distinctions and similarities between the roles played by family relationships and friendships. In this chapter, family relationships broadly refer to relationships brought by marriage (e.g., marital relationship, relationship with in-laws) or genetic relatedness (e.g., parent-child relationship, sibling relationship) unless specified otherwise. To describe the function of different sources of social support from one's social network, three theoretical models have been proposed, namely, the hierarchical-compensatory model (Cantor 1979), the task-specific model (Dono et al. 1979; Litwak and Szelenyi 1969), and the functional specificity model (Simons 1983–1984).

According to the hierarchical-compensatory model (Cantor 1979), people have a hierarchy of preferred support providers. Across all support domains (e.g., instrumental, emotional, informational), individuals would first seek support from the most preferred source. Only when the most preferred source is not available would the next preferred source be utilized to compensate for the vacuum left by the more preferred support provider. Nuclear family members, especially the spouse, are usually the most preferred source of social support, followed by relatives in the extensive family and friends. Empirical studies have provided support to the hierarchical-compensatory model (e.g., Cantor 1979; Connidis and Davies 1990; Penning 1990). With a sample of 1552 older adults in New York, Cantor (1979) found that most people turned to kin, rather than to non-kin, for help in ten daily life situations ranging from instrumental ones (e.g., help with doctor's visits, financial assistance) to affective ones (e.g., confiding). Penning (1990) replicated and further illustrated the finding in a Canadian sample. Focusing on five areas of assistance such as grocery shopping, emotional support, and help with emergencies, most supportive functions were found to be provided by spouses. When a spouse was not available, children became the major provider of social support. When both spouse and children were unavailable, other relatives took the role of major support provider. In all situations, non-kin relationships (i.e., friends and neighbors) were a minor source of support compared with kin relations.

However, although kin cover more support functions than non-kin, depending on the nature of the assistance required, the proportion of people seeking support from non-kin varies. For example, in Cantor's (1979) classic study, 27.3 % of the respondents approached friends for help when they felt lonely and wanted to talk, but only 6.4 % turned to friends when they did not have money for a medical bill. Thus, the task-specific model proposes that because the nature of different tasks in daily life varies, people's preference for support providers is task specific (Dono et al. 1979; Litwak and Szelenyi 1969; Messeri et al. 1993). Daily tasks can be differentiated on multiple dimensions, such as required proximity, duration of commitment, or shared life experience (Messeri et al. 1993). Family members are the most suitable support providers for tasks that need long-term commitment, such as chronic illness care, but friends may be the more preferred support providers for tasks that require shared life experiences or shared interests, such as discussing career-related concerns or playing tennis together.

Following a similar rationale, Simons (1983–1984) proposed the functional specificity model of social relationships. Instead of being task specific, different

relationship types are considered to serve distinctive functions. Security, intimacy and self-esteem are identified as the three basic desires to be fulfilled in social relationships. Different relationship types serve distinctive functions by satisfying different desires (Simons 1983–1984). In particular, whereas family relationships are more effective in satisfying the desire for security, friendships are more useful in satisfying the desire for self-esteem. Moreover, when a certain relationship is not available, its function can be substituted by other relationships. For unmarried individuals, frequent contact with friends could provide people with a sense of security, serving the same function as spouse and children do for married individuals (Carbery and Buhrmester 1998; Simons 1983–1984).

Indeed, the three theoretical models of social relationships are not exclusive to each other (Messeri et al. 1993; Penning 1990). Family roles and relationships are ascribed and family members are obligated to support each other when in need. So, people feel more freely to seek help from family members across a range of circumstances and family members indeed provide most of the social support to people. In contrast, friendships are formed voluntarily by mutual agreement. No definite responsibilities are attached to the relationship. Support is usually provided based on the reciprocity principle. Hence, compared with family members, friends are less frequently sought for support in general. However, friends are usually at the same life stages and face similar challenges, and friendship is typically based on shared interests and shared experience; thus friendship can be particularly efficient when dealing with certain tasks (e.g., sharing about family problems) or fulfilling certain psychological needs (e.g., promoting self-esteem). Family and friends both have unique and indispensible roles in people's lives.

Other theories have examined the role of social network from a life-span developmental perspective. The social convoy model argues that social networks are not static but are dynamic resources that change and provide support in response to changing circumstances over the life course. Relationship closeness is graphically represented by three concentric circles (i.e., the inner, middle, and outer circle) around the individual, with the inner circle being the closest (Kahn and Antonucci 1980). Across different stages of the individual's life development and family life cycle, the position of each social partner dynamically moves in and out of the convoy circles while new members may be added. For example, old friendship may be rekindled to substitute for lost family ties as in widowhood. Usually, the nuclear family members, which change from parents and siblings in childhood and adolescence to spouse and children during adulthood, stay in the inner circle of the convoy. Friends enter and sometimes reach the inner circle of the social convoy during adolescence and young adulthood. But the importance of friendships drops later, especially after individuals start their own family (Levitt et al. 1993), so friends tend to stay in the middle or outer circle of the social convoy during later life stages. The general changing pattern of the social convoy across life span was found to be similar in the United States and Japan (Antonucci et al. 2004).

Similarly, socioemotional selectivity theory (Carstensen 2006; Carstensen et al. 1999) argues that as people perceive their future time as increasingly limited from early adulthood to later adulthood, their priority shifts from future-oriented goals to emotionally meaningful goals. Hence one's social network is also managed to match with the prioritized goals at different stages of adulthood. To achieve

emotionally meaningful goals in later adulthood, interaction frequency with periph-
eral social partners (i.e., those in the middle or outer circle of the social convoy,
such as friends or acquaintances) declines, while that with close social partners (i.e.,
those in the inner circle of the social convoy, such as spouse or siblings) increases
(Carstensen 1992; Lang 2001). Moreover, Heller et al. (1991) found that once the
long-term close social ties were lost in later adulthood, they could not be replaced
by establishing new friendship ties. Hence, both the social convoy model and the
socioemotional selectivity theory suggest that the closeness of friendships peaks
during adolescence and early adulthood, whereas the closeness of family relation-
ships remains prominent across the life span.

Family, Friend, and Subjective Well-being
in Western Culture

Many studies using Western samples have found that both family relationships and
friendships are influential on subjective as well as physical well-being (Adams and
Blieszner 1995; Antonucci et al. 2001; Dean et al. 1990; Dupertuis et al. 2001; Fiori
et al. 2006; Larson et al. 1986; Reinhardt 1996). However, given the different nature
of the two relationship types, there are several notable distinctions in their effects,
which are discussed below.

First, more family interactions are not always related to better subjective well-
being (Lee and Ellithorpe 1982; Lee and Ishii-Kuntz 1987; McCulloch 1990; Rook
2001, 2003). Family relationships are attached with both deep affections and strong
obligations, so interaction with family members is a mixture of sweetness and bit-
terness. In a study of retired people in the U.S., Larson et al. (1986) found that
married people spent nearly half of their time with their spouse and/or children,
while the majority of the remaining time was spent alone. Not surprisingly, time
spent with family would be much less for people who are working. According to
a statistical report from Canada (Turcotte 2007), workers spent 206 min with their
family on average on a typical working day in 2005. The time was less than it used
to be in 1986 (250 min), but it was still far more than the time spent with friends,
which was only 19 min per working day in 2005. As family members, especially
the ones in the same household who spend so much time together, they go through
nearly every life events jointly, just as the wedding vow says, "for better for worse,
for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health". Thus, family relationships are not
all about fun. They are intertwined with repetitive routines (e.g., housework) and
inevitable frustrating details of the reality (e.g., financial hardship). Family relation-
ships can also be undermined by factors outside the household (Conger et al. 1990;
Karney and Bradbury 1995). For example, when an individual has a stressful day at
work, the negative impact of the stress can spill over to his/her family relationship.
Negative social interactions at work or heavy workload could both lead to problem-
atic marital interactions on the same day (Story and Repetti 2006). The effects of
the mixed positive and negative interactions with family members may cancel each

other out (Davey and Eggebeen 1998; Rook 2001, 2003), resulting in nonsignificant association observed between family interaction and subjective well-being (Lee and Ellithorpe 1982; Lee and Ishii-Kuntz 1987; McCulloch 1990).

Second, compared to family relationships, friendships can be more beneficial to subjective well-being (Antonucci 1990; Demir and Özdemir 2010; Larson et al. 1986; Nussbaum et al. 2000). Friendships are mainly based on mutual liking and shared interests. People spend much less time with friends than with family, and the nature of the interaction is less characterized by concomitant positive and negative elements in friendships than in family relationships (Larson et al. 1986; Turcotte 2007). Most of the interactions with friends happen during leisure activities, with the major purpose to relax and to enjoy. People can also choose whether to participate an event with friends following their own will. It is not surprising to find that people would experience more positive and more aroused affect when interacting with friends (Larson et al. 1986). Also, as friends mostly share the positive and recreational aspects of their lives, they have fewer conflicts of interest and can be better providers of emotional support to each other (Antonucci 1990; Antonucci and Akiyama 1995; Nussbaum et al. 2000). Another notable feature of friendship is that it is a voluntary relationship. When the friendship with someone stops being enjoyable and fruitful, one can choose to disengage from it. Through such a screening process, sustained friendships are usually characterized by mutual support and quality exchanges. For these reasons, friendships are particularly beneficial to subjective well-being. Demir and Özdemir (2010) further identified that the provisions of companionship, instrumental assistance, intimacy, reliable alliance, self-validation, and emotional security were six characteristics of good friendship. They also found that friendships contributed to happiness by meeting individuals' three basic needs, namely, autonomy, competence, and relatedness (Deci and Ryan 2000). With the company of friends, people can feel free to be who they are, feel "capable and effective," and feel "loved and cared about" (Demir and Özdemir 2010, p. 248).

Third, during difficult times, such as illness or financial hardship, family relationships are a more reliable source of instrumental support (Adams and Blieszner 1995; Antonucci 1990) and are expected to contribute more significantly to both physical and mental health. One reason is that family members share more aspects of their lives, and have more knowledge of each other's difficulties. In most occasions, individuals would feel freer and more comfortable exposing their vulnerability to family members at home, than to friends during social gatherings. Moreover, the bonds between family members are involuntary. Unlike friendships, mutual support between family members is not only determined by personal preference, but also obligations to each other. It ensures the stability of the support, which is usually required during difficult times.

Testing the effects of different support sources on subjective well-being during hardship, Friedman (1993) specifically examined older women suffering from heart disease and their social support system. She found that patients who received support from family members reported more positive affect and higher life satisfaction than those who received support only from nonfamily sources. The same pattern was true for both emotional and instrumental support. One possible mechanism

for the particularly beneficial effect of family relationship on subjective well-being during hard times is that people are more at ease and less physiologically aroused when they are with family than with other people (Holt-Lunstad et al. 2003; Spitzer et al. 1992). Such relaxed and calm states can be especially valuable when dealing with difficult or prolonged problems. Thus, support from the family, rather than friends, is more beneficial to subjective well-being during challenging times in life.

Lastly, to be a rewarding relationship that contributes to subjective well-being, the rule of reciprocity is of far greater importance in friendships than in family relationships. Clark and Mills (1979, 1993) proposed that social relationships can be categorized into two groups, namely, exchange relationships and communal relationships. Exchange relationships are characterized by an emphasis on the equity rule, whereas communal relationships focus on meeting each other's needs. To be specific, friendships are mostly exchange relationships and function according to the reciprocity norm. The support exchanges between friends are mutual and relatively comparable in value, although the "payback" may not be immediately binding and may not take the same form. For example, it is possible that in a friendship, one person provides more materialistic support (e.g., paying bills for shared dinners) while the other person provides more emotional support (e.g., being a good confidant). In contrast, family relationships are the typical example of communal relationships. Family members can provide support to each other solely because it is needed. From the evolutionary perspective, such altruistic behaviors between family members are adaptive because of the biological connections between these individuals (Hamilton 1964); to protect one's family members ensures continuation of the clan through survival. As a consequence of such differences between friendship and family relationship, the level of reciprocity was found to be higher in friendships than in family relationships. More importantly, reciprocity in friendships was more significantly related to satisfaction than that in family relationships (Rook 1987).

To conclude, family relationship and friendship are both indispensible components of people's social network that contribute significantly to subjective well-being, but their specific roles are different. Family relationships are essential to most individuals and provide them with most support. The connections between family members are so close that both positive and negative experiences are shared. The mixed interaction experience makes the connection between family relationship and subjective well-being not apparent in general. However, when it comes to really difficult times in life, family members' unconditional support is particularly important to maintain individuals' well-being. By comparison, friendship is relatively peripheral in the social network. The lives of friends are overlapped to a lesser extent in comparison with those between family members, and the interactions in most friendships follow the rule of reciprocity. A major characteristic of friendship is that the shared experience between friends is dominated by recreational and enjoyable activities, so friendship is a salient contributor to subjective well-being in everyday life. Another notable point is that when family relationship is not available, close friendships can function as fictive kin relationships and provide people with the needed support (Connidis and Davies 1990; Taylor et al. 2001). In other

words, family relationship and friendship jointly form a dynamic support system that protects individuals' subjective well-being.

However, all the studies reviewed so far are based on samples from individualistic cultures. The effects of family relationship and friendship on subjective well-being may be different in the collectivistic context. The next section specifically introduces recent findings about how family and friends contribute to subjective well-being in the Asian context.

Family, Friend, and Subjective Well-being Among Asians

Asian countries are dominated by the collectivistic culture and a major characteristic of collectivistic culture is the emphasis on in-group relationships (Markus and Kitayama 1991). Individuals exposed to collectivistic culture have an interdependent self-construal, which incorporate close relationships as part of their self-concept. Their subjective well-being is not only influenced by satisfaction with self-related attributes, but also affected by satisfaction with relationship-related attributes. Specifically, Kwan et al. (1997) identified relationship harmony as a more important determinant of life satisfaction in Hong Kong than in the United States. Tam et al. (2012) also found that when bicultural individuals were primed with collectivistic stimuli, their life satisfaction and happiness were more strongly associated with satisfaction with close relationships, compared with when they were primed with individualistic stimuli. In other words, people from individualistic cultures draw a clear distinction between self and others, whereas people from collectivistic cultures emphasize more on the distinction between in-group and out-group. People with collectivistic beliefs were found to allocate more resources to in-group members and evaluate them more leniently (Gómez et al. 2000; Hui et al. 1991). Likewise, trust in collectivistic societies is mainly built on group affiliation and long-term collaboration, so that generalized trust toward out-group people is negatively associated with the collectivism level of a society (Allik and Realo 2004; Gheorghiu et al. 2009; Yamagishi et al. 1998; Yamagishi and Yamagishi 1994). All these empirical findings suggest that collectivistic people are particularly dependent on in-group relationships, and the family is a prototype of such relationships.

The family is the most central and intimate group for most Asian people. Family relationships are considered to be superior to other types of relationships because "blood is thicker than water." Individuals believe that the welfare of family members, harmony of family relationships, and prosperity of the whole family are their principal concerns. One could sacrifice one's own interest for the sake of other family members. For example, adolescents with Filipino or Chinese background were found to endorse more family obligations, and provide more support and pay more respect to their family members compared with their European counterparts (Fuligni et al. 1999). Such cognitive, emotional, and behavioral tendency favoring family members, family relationships, and family prosperity, as well as the emphasis on mutual family obligations, is termed familism (Yang 2006). Thus, family

relationships should play a more critical role in one's social network and contribute more to subjective well-being in Asia than in the West.

Similar to findings in the Western culture, the family is a major and diffuse support provider for Asian people, while the role of friends is mainly to provide emotional support. Lee et al. (2005) surveyed people in Beijing and Hong Kong about whom they would first turn to in five different situations (i.e., need help with housework, need help during sickness, need to borrow a large amount of money, need important advice, and need a confidant when depressed). Across all situations, close family members were the most preferred source of support. The percentage of people who chose to seek support from close family members was highest when needing help during sickness (77.7 % in Hong Kong and 85.2 % in Beijing), and lowest when needing a confidant when depressed (43.3 % in Hong Kong and 45.4 % in Beijing). Meanwhile, friends were turned to mostly when emotional support was needed. When feeling depressed, 31.5 % of the Hong Kong sample and 26.3 % of the Beijing sample chose to talk with a close friend. Another similarity between the West and Asia is that family relationships are particularly beneficial to subjective well-being during difficult times in life. In a longitudinal study with older adults in Hong Kong, Chou and Chi (2003) found that for older adults who suffered from depression, the support they received from family members increased after 3 years whereas the support from friends decreased over the same period. Support from family members also resulted in the decrease of depression longitudinally.

However, unlike Western cultures, family relationships contribute more significantly to subjective well-being than do friendships even during ordinary days in the Asian context. Cheng et al. (2011) investigated how social exchanges with different types of kin and non-kin influence older Chinese adults' subjective well-being, indicated by the level of life satisfaction, depression, positive affect, and negative affect. Based on social contact and exchange patterns, they examined two subgroups within kinship: (a) the vertically extended family, including parents, spouse, children, children-in-law, and grandchildren, and (b) the horizontally extended family, including siblings, cousins, distant in-laws, and so on. They found that positive exchanges (averaged by number of network members within certain relationship categories) with both vertical and horizontal family members significantly contributed to older Chinese adults' subjective well-being, while negative exchanges with family members significantly impaired subjective well-being. However, although social exchanges with friends had a few significant correlations with the subjective well-being indices, the relationships disappeared after controlling for exchanges with family members. In other words, the quality of social exchanges with friends did not contribute to well-being beyond the effects of exchanges with family. Cheng et al. (2009, 2011) argued that due to the stronger reciprocity norm in collectivistic cultures, one may be discouraged from seeking help from friends because of the obligation to return favors. The harmony norm also discourage one from sharing personal problems in certain contexts as doing so may be seen as disrupting social harmony. Thus, the beneficial effects of social exchanges with friends may be limited by these factors in the Asian context.

In addition to investigating separate relationships, Cheng et al. (2009) also examined older Chinese people's social network types and how social network structure affected subjective well-being. Using a sample of more than one thousand older Chinese adults in Hong Kong, five types of social network were identified: diverse, friend-focused, restricted, family-focused, and distant family. Similar to Western findings (Fiori et al. 2006; Litwin 2001; Litwin and Shiovitz-Ezra 2011), the diverse network (characterized by high levels of contact and exchanges with kin and nonkin) was associated with the best well-being indicators, including being high in morale and life satisfaction and low in depression. Different from Western findings, however, those having family-focused networks were not disadvantaged when compared to those with friend-focused networks in Chinese older adults. Their well-being indicators were similar, or even marginally better among those with family-focused networks (Cheng et al. 2009). Another study of Japanese older adults found that social network types, whether diverse, friend-focused, family-focused, or restricted, were not differentially associated with depression (Fiori et al. 2008). Although the findings for the Japanese were somewhat different from those for the Hong Kong Chinese, the lack of superiority of friend- over family-focused networks appears to be consistently found across Asian samples. Fiori and colleagues also found that U.S. older adults tended to rate their family relationships more negatively than friendships, whereas the same was not true for the Japanese, which might explain the lack of differences between friend- and family-focused networks in terms of associations with well-being indicators among Asian older adults. Another reason may be that many leisure and hence pleasurable activities are conducted with family members as well as friends in Asian societies.

Other studies using Asian samples also supported that family relationships are generally more influential on subjective well-being than friendships. Siu and Phillips (2002) studied how the quality and subjective importance placed on family relationships and friendships affect older women's subjective well-being in Hong Kong. Quality of family relationships, but not friendships, was significantly related to more positive affect and less negative affect in the sample. The perceived importance of friendships was also significantly related to more positive affect. In another study involving a larger Hong Kong sample with both genders, Phillips et al. (2008) found again that the frequency and quality of family interactions were significantly related to older adults' subjective well-being, but frequency and quality of friendships did not make a difference. Yeung and Fung (2007) also found that older Chinese adults' life satisfaction was significantly associated with emotional and instrumental support from family member, but such associations were not found between life satisfaction and support from friends. Moreover, familism significantly moderated the relationship between family instrumental support and life satisfaction. Older adults who valued more about familism benefitted more strongly from family instrumental support.

Does this mean friendships are not important for Chinese older adults? Although social exchanges with friends were not associated with well-being, Cheng et al. (2011) found that the size of the non-kin network (i.e., the number of friends) was significantly associated with all well-being indicators, with a larger non-kin

network size being associated with more positive affect, less negative affect and depression, and, to a lesser extent, higher life satisfaction. The size of the family network, whether vertically or horizontally extended family, were only associated with selected indicators and the effect sizes were much smaller, compared with those of the non-kin network. Social exchanges with kin and non-kin were controlled for in these analyses. Together, the findings suggest that the quality of the daily exchanges with family members is important for the subjective well-being of Chinese older adults. While friends may not be seen on a regular basis, a larger friendship network may be key to more diverse and frequent social activities, which are typically emotionally arousing (hence stronger associations with affective indicators of well-being). Also in support of the potential benefits of friendship was the study by Zhang et al. (2011). The authors found that for middle-aged and older Chinese adults with high interdependent self-construal, their loneliness benefitted longitudinally from increased number of peripheral social partners over a 2-year interval. Although peripheral social partners may not necessarily be friends, this effect may be attributed primarily to friendships as increases in family members are far less likely than increases in friends. Likewise, Phillips et al. (2008) found that the number of friends was positively associated with older Chinese adults' subjective well-being, although the quality and frequency of interaction with friends did not matter.

The dominating effect of friendship quantity over quality in the Asian context is contrary to what is observed in Western samples. Lucas and colleagues (Lucas and Dyrenforth 2006; Lucas et al. 2008) suggested that the mere existence of friendships only had a small effect on subjective well-being based on a quantitative review of studies in the Western context. Demir et al. (2013) also argued that friendship quality was more important than friendship quantity in affecting happiness. Such cultural difference regarding friendship quality and quantity may result from different culture norms of seeking support from friends. Social support is considered as an important mediator between friendship and subjective well-being (Chan et al. 2006; Lu 1995, 1999). Meanwhile, compared with Westerners, Asians were found to be less willing to explicitly seek social support from social partners, as they were more concerned with the potential negative relationship implications caused by the support seeking behavior, such as "worrying others, disrupting the harmony of the group, losing face, and making the problem worse" (Kim et al. 2006, p. 1596). With direct support seeking behavior, individuals with high-quality friendships can receive necessary social support from their close friends, so friendship quality is more strongly associated with subjective well-being in Western societies. However, without the direct support seeking behavior, friendship quantity may be a better indicator of available social support for an individual than the quality of specific friendships, so friendship quantity is more influential to subjective well-being in the Asian context.

To conclude, as a result of the dominance of collectivism and familism, although friendship is still an important source of emotional support among Asians, the impact of friendship on subjective well-being is less remarkable than that in the individualistic context. In contrast, family relationships remain the most preferred source of support across various domains. Moreover, the significant influence of

family relationships on subjective well-being is no longer confined to difficult times in life, but becomes a general day-to-day phenomenon. However, as many Asian countries are undergoing rapid economic growth and social changes in recent decades, the roles played by friendship and family relationship are also under dynamic changes. Recent developing trends in the Asian context and potential future research directions regarding family relationship, friendship, and subjective well-being are discussed in the following section.

Developing Trend and Future Research Directions

The major developing trend concerning Asian families is that the size and stability of families is decreasing in recent decades. According to a report from the United Nations (2011), the total fertility rate in Asia dropped from 5.82 during 1950–1955 to 2.28 during 2005–2010. The decreasing trend is particularly significant in China as the result of the one-child policy. The total fertility rate dropped from 6.11 during 1950–1955 to 1.64 during 2005–2010. As a result, the size of the family network shrinks significantly. Meanwhile, influenced by modern values about marriage, individuals are less likely to treat marriage as a lifetime commitment. Instead, marriage is considered as optional and can be ended when it fails to satisfy one's needs. Thus, the age at first marriage is delayed and the divorce rate increases significantly. For example, from 1981 to 2006, people's age at first marriage increased by about 4 years for both males and females in Hong Kong. During the same period, the number of divorce decrees granted per year increased from 2060 to 17,424, while the number of new marriages per year only slightly increased from 43,386 to 50,242 (Census and Statistics Department, Government of HKSAR 2007). As family relationships are becoming fewer and less stable in Asian societies, individuals may not be able to obtain adequate and consistent support from family members any more. According to the hierarchical-compensatory model (Cantor 1979), friendships, as the next preferable source of support in one's social network, may become more important in determining subjective well-being in modern Asian societies. Future studies can follow up on these changing trends and empirically test whether friendships are becoming increasingly important for Asian people's subjective well-being.

Moreover, the above changing trends in demographics are also observed in Western societies. Arnett (2000, 2007) proposed the concept of emerging adulthood to represent the period from late teens to late twenties during which individuals had achieved certain levels of independence but had not settled down yet. Other researchers suggest that this life period also exists in Asian countries (Nelson and Chen 2007; Rosenberger 2007). Emerging adults usually are not married but many of them are involved in romantic relationships. Romantic relationship was found to be more influential on emerging adults' happiness than friendship in an American sample (Demir 2010). Future studies can investigate whether the same pattern is also true in Asian countries.

Another direction for future research is to investigate the impact of family relationship and friendship on subjective well-being across different stages of adulthood. Most previous studies about this topic in the Asian context focused on older adults. The reason may be that the benefits from social support are more salient during late adulthood. However, social exchanges with family and friends are an essential part for young and middle-aged adults as well. Individuals face different life tasks and possess different goals over the life course (Ferraro 2001). Family relationship and friendship can serve different functions for people at different life stages. According to the social convoy model (Kahn and Antonucci 1980) and the socioemotional selectivity theory (Carstensen 2006), the importance of friendships decreases from early adulthood to later adulthood. Walen and Lachman (2000) reported that friendship strain impaired young adults' subjective well-being to a greater extent compared with that of older adults. Furthermore, in a meta-analysis based on Western studies, Pinquart and Sorensen (2000) found that for older adults, higher relationship quality with adult children was more strongly associated with older adults' life satisfaction than the quality of friendships. However, similar studies are lacking in the Asian context. To understand how family relationship and friendship coordinately provide people with a functional social support network that meets the dynamically changing developmental needs, it is of great importance to examine the longitudinal changes of the impact of family relationship and friendship on subjective well-being in the Asian context as well.

Moreover, family relationships and friendships can interact to influence subjective well-being. For example, Okun and Keith (1998) tested positive and negative social exchanges with spouse, children, and other relatives/friends in a larger American sample. They found significant interaction effects between exchanges from the same source in explaining younger participants' depression, but significant interaction effects between exchanges from *different* sources in explaining older participants' depressive symptoms. Similarly, based on a national sample in the United States, Walen and Lachman (2000) identified several buffering effects between relationship support and relationship strains in determining subjective well-being, either within the same relationship category (e.g., family support buffering family strains) or cross relationships (e.g., friends support buffering partner strains). Some of the buffering effects were only evident in women. Demir (2010) also reported that that romantic relationship quality significantly buffered the negative effect of conflict with the best friend for emerging adults in the United States. However, no consensus regarding the interaction effects between family relationships and friendships have been achieved and few studies have looked at this issue in the Asian context. Future studies can further investigate how family relationships and friendships dynamically interact with each other to support individuals' subjective well-being across different cultures.

Lastly, some studies have indicated that subjective well-being may be the cause, instead of the result, of supportive family relationships and friendships because happier people may draw more support from the people around them (Adams 1988; Lyubomirsky et al. 2005). Although there has already been some longitudinal studies supporting that changes in social relationships predict changes in subjective

well-being (e.g., Zhang et al. 2011), more longitudinal studies are needed to clarify the causal relationship between social relationships and subjective well-being.

Conclusion

Although family relationship is the dominating source of support for most people, friendship is also an indispensible part of people's social network with unique functions. Based on studies with Western samples, family relationship provides most of the support across varying domains but family interactions tend to contribute significantly to subjective well-being only when people are facing difficulties in life. Interaction with friend is more significantly associated with subjective well-being in general, and reciprocity is a critical factor that determines friendship quality. However, influenced by collectivism and familism, the impact of friendship is less salient in Asian countries. Family relationship is consistently found to be an equally, if not more, important determinant of subjective well-being when compared to friendship. Meanwhile, it is important to notice that Asian families are becoming smaller and less stable. The effect of friendship may become increasingly important as a consequence of these trends. Future studies can investigate the dynamic roles of family relationship and friendship on subjective well-being across different stages of adulthood.

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The Interplay Between Attachment to Mother and Friendship Quality in Predicting Life Satisfaction Among Turkish Children

Nebi Sümer

Life satisfaction (LS) as an integral part of well-being (Diener 1984) helps adaptation for survival by promoting the psychological conditions for exploration, personal and social development, and coping efficacy under stress (Diener and Diener 1996). Hence, psychologists, especially positive psychologists, have been trying to understand the fundamental predictors and the mechanisms that enhance LS in the last decades (see, Diener et al. 1999; Lyubomirsky et al. 2005).

A recently published extensive comparative study conducted in 29 rich countries by UNICEF (the United Nations Children's Fund) on child well-being during middle childhood revealed that the child's sense of subjective well-being and life satisfaction go hand in hand and both are deeply bound up with the quality of relationships with parents and peers (UNICEF Office of Research, Innocenti Report Card 11, 2013). Their findings showed that if children found it easy to talk to their mothers and fathers, they also found their classmates kind and helpful in the majority of the countries. The link between the quality of parental and peer relationships is the strongest among those countries where children have highest level of both objective wellbeing (e.g., in material, health, education, housing, and environment domains) and subjective well-being. Reporters concluded that "…family relationships are the single most important contributor to children's subjective well-being…and relationships with peers can play an important role in both day-to-day well-being and long-term developmental progress" (p. 40).

The UNICEF survey and other similar research, indeed, confirms the basic tenet of attachment theory (Bowlby 1969, 1973; Cassidy 2008) asserting that the quality of early interactions within the family impacts child's competence in social and personal domains, especially by guiding his/her quality of relationships with peers later in life. Later studies largely supported the assertion that the quality of parent and peer relationships are strongly related, and in turn, both contribute to LS

N. Sümer (✉)
Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey
e-mail: nsumer@metu.edu.tr

253

via enhancing happiness and subjective well-being among children and adolescents (see Demir et al. 2013; Gilman and Huebner 2003; Mikulincer and Shaver 2013).

Although there exists an extensive literature on the interplay between attachment security to parents and child's relationship quality (see Kerns 2008), especially with the peers and friends (see Ladd 1999; Schneider et al. 2001) and between attachment to parents and peers (see Gorrese and Ruggieri 2012; Kerns 2008), almost no study has specifically examined the effects of anxious and avoidant attachment to parents together with the quality of friendship on happiness and LS in middle childhood. Furthermore, there exists scarce data from the non-Western cultures regarding the effect of attachment (in)security on social competence and LS. Therefore, considering that individual differences in attachment can be most parsimoniously captured along the two fundamental dimensions representing attachment-related anxiety and avoidance (Brennan et al. 1998; Mikulincer and Shaver 2007), the current study has primarily aimed to examine the effects of anxious and avoidant attachment to mothers and the quality of friendship on LS in middle childhood in the Turkish cultural context.

Attachment Perspective

According to Bowlby (1973), children develop internal working models (mental representations) of themselves as being worthy (or unworthy) of love and care, and others, especially attachment figures, as trustworthy and responsive (or untrustworthy and unresponsive) on the basis of the quality of their early interactions. These mental representations guide belief, expectations, and behaviors in all sorts of close relationships including friendships across the life-span (Kerns 2008). Depending on the positivity or negativity of these mental models, individuals use different emotion and behavior regulation and coping strategies to deal with the relationship problems. With the contribution of Mary Ainsworth (Ainsworth et al. 1978) and other attachment researchers, especially following Hazan and Shaver's (1987) seminal work on adult romantic attachment, attachment theory has been expanded and utilized as a general framework in understanding the dynamics of close relationships including peer relations and friendships and resulting impact on psychological well-being (see Mikulincer and Shaver 2007).

Initially, Ainsworth et al. (1978) systematized attachment theory to better understand the individual differences in the internal working models reflected in the (in)security of attachment bond. These researchers have shown that maternal sensitivity that provides a reassurance for proximity, a secure base for exploring the social and physical environment, and a safe haven to return when feeling stressed are the key factors in attachment security. If children's needs for proximity, safety, and security are sufficiently and consistently met when they are distressed, they are more likely

to develop a secure attachment orientation. Furthermore, using the caregivers as the secure base children effectively explore the social networks and can have the opportunity to practice their social skills with peers to develop multiple attachments to significant others later in life. However, if their primary caregivers are inconsistently responsive to their needs and intrusive, they may develop an insecure anxious-resistant attachment pattern. If the caregivers are consistently rejecting and emotionally unavailable, then they are more likely to develop an insecure avoidant attachment.

Attachment theory has become one of the leading theoretical frameworks in understanding underlying dynamics in close relationships during the last three decades. Accumulation of attachment studies has shown that individual differences in attachment orientations and their underlying internal working models can indeed be best represented in the two fundamental dimensions reflecting *attachment-related anxiety* and *avoidance* which are relatively stable from early years to adulthood (Mikulincer and Shaver 2007). Similar to the dynamics in the early years, attachment anxiety reflects worries in close relationships, a strong need for closeness, and fear of being abandoned. Attachment avoidance, however, reflects an extreme self-reliance and emotional distance from close relationships. From a developmental perspective, children who are anxiously attached to primary caregivers or peers probably have the early experiences of physical and/or emotional abandonment. Thus, they usually exaggerate their distress and fears by asking for constant help, seeking for closeness, and clinging to their friends and partners to stave off abandonment, and constantly challenged by their negative emotions that reduce their happiness and well-being. Specifically, using a *hyperactivating* emotion and behavior-regulation strategy, those who are anxiously attached to their caregivers heighten their distress, anger, and dependency to force the attachment figures to respond to their demands. Hence, they are also extremely hyper-vigilant, prone to conflict, distressed in friendship, and experience negative emotions.

By contrary, probably because of their early rejection experiences, children who have an avoidant attachment to their caregivers use *deactivating* emotion and behavior-regulation strategy that bases on extreme self-reliance, repression (or defensive exclusion) of negative affect, such as sadness, need for closeness and dependency. Thus, they try to avoid a possible rejection from attachment figures and peers by maintaining psychological, social and emotional distance, and independence at the expense of close peer relationship (Mikulincer and Shaver 2007). Meta-analyses have shown that, females have higher attachment anxiety and lower attachment avoidance than males in Western cultures (Del Giudice 2011).

Confirming these theoretical accounts, past studies have shown that attachment security to parents constitutes an important personal resource that promotes exploration in personal domains and competence in friendship especially during middle childhood (Kerns 2008) as well as it enhances positive emotions and happiness (Mikulincer and Shaver 2013).

Attachment, Social Competence and Life Satisfaction in Middle Childhood

Previous studies have provided abundant evidence showing that early parent-child interactions are closely associated with the quality and competence in friendship and subjective well-being. Although both the pattern and the dynamic of attachment relationship between parents and children relatively change during middle childhood, the studies focusing on the link between attachment security, friendship quality, and LS in this developmental period is relatively rare (Kerns 2008; Kerns et al. 2006; Mayseless 2005). The importance of peers becomes evident and children spend relatively more time with their peers in middle childhood. Although children still see their parents as the primary attachment figures, their expression of attachment needs changes from more proximal behaviors to symbolic ones due to transformations in cognitive and emotional development in this stage (Kerns 2008, Kerns et al. 2006).

In an earlier study, Kerns et al. (1996) found that children having secure attachment to their mothers were more reciprocated and accepted by their peers, more responsive to friendship, and more effective in regulating their emotions with peers than those having insecure attachment to their mothers. Lieberman et al. (1999) demonstrated that secure attachment to both mother and father was related to positive friendship qualities and lack of conflict in best friendships during middle childhood and early adolescence. They also found that the availability dimension of secure attachment to mother was the critical predictor of friendship quality and availability of fathers was the critical predictor of lower conflict with best friends. Moreover, previous studies have also documented that the children's friendship is closely associated with their well-being and LS. Friendship quality seems be more important during middle childhood as compared to adolescence and adulthood periods since children do not have other sources of close relationships, such as romantic relations, they are under an increased pressure of school and family environment, having acceptance by peers is their prior goal (Gilman and Huebner 2003; Holder and Coleman "Children's friendships and positive well-being"; Huebner and Diener 2008).

Marking the importance of early years, two recent longitudinal studies have provided evidence for the effects of attachment dimensions on social competence and friendship quality. Zayas et al. (2011) have shown that quality of maternal caregiving given at 18 months of age predicts how comfortable people are in relying on peers and partners, namely attachment avoidance, 20 years later. Similarly, Fraley et al. (2013) tracked a cohort of children and their parents from birth to age 15 using multiple measurements of attachment, social competence, and friendship, and found that early maternal sensitivity and parental attachment avoidance were the strongest predictors of best friendship quality.

Others studies have replicated the documented link between attachment to parents and dimensions of social competence including friendship quality (Kerns 2008). Schneider et al.'s (2001) meta-analysis including 63 studies (54 of them

from North America) yielded a moderate effect size (0.20) of the association between attachment to mother and competence in peer relationships. The effect size increased to. 24 when the studies looking only at the association between parent-child attachment security and friendship quality were considered. However, both unique and overlapping contribution of attachment security and friendship quality to happiness and LS is still unknown. Moreover, majority of the past studies in middle childhood investigated attachment security or insecurity to parents without specifically examining if the two fundamental dimensions, attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance, are distinctively associated with friendship quality and conflict, and in turn, if they predict LS.

Past studies on late adolescents and emerging adults have shown that both attachment anxiety and avoidance are negatively associated with friendship quality (e.g., Doumen et al. 2012; Özen et al. 2011). Both attachment dimensions and friendship quality have also been found to be systematically linked with happiness and LS (Demir et al. 2007; Demir et al. 2013, Mikulincer and Shaver 2013). Specifically, past work has demonstrated that, as one of the main developmental antecedents of positive emotions, happiness, and LS, attachment anxiety intensifies negative emotions, and thus, deteriorates feelings of LS; and attachment avoidance was shown to lead to defensive suppression of emotions iresulting in a blockage of experiencing positive emotions and LS (Mikulincer and Shaver 2013; Mikulincer and Shaver 2007). Similarly, the link between friendship quality and happiness representing LS has been well documented almost universally throughout the lifespan, ethnic groups, and various cultures (see Demir et al. 2013, Huebner and Diener 2008). Therefore, it is imperative to examine the unique and interactive effects of both attachment dimensions and friendship quality to LS in middle childhood.

In addition to friendship quality, conflicts between friends can be a source of unhappiness by reducing their well-being and increasing discordance within the friendship network (see Demir et al. 2013, Holder and Coleman "Children's friendships and positive well-being"). Therefore, the power of friendship conflict, relative to friendship quality, in predicting LS should also be investigated.

Sex differences in peer relationships have been well-documented. For instance, decades of research have shown that friendships of girls when compared to boys are higher in intimacy and overall quality (Nangle et al. 2003; Oldenburg and Kerns 1997; Parker and Asher 1993; see Rose and Rudolph (2006) for a review). Thus, the impact of friendship experiences on emotional adjustment could be stronger among girls than boys (Oldenburg and Kerns 1997; Rose and Rudolph 2006); an argument extended to intimate relationships of adults (Saphire-Bernstein and Taylor 2013). Although research among young adults showed that friendship experiences are similarly related to happiness among men and women (Demir and Davidson 2013); Oldenburg and Kerns (1997) have shown that popularity was related to emotional adjustment among girls but not boys. Since this issue was not addressed among Turkish children, and in light of convincing theoretical arguments (Rose and Rudolph 2006), it is plausible to argue that the unique variance explained by the attachment and friendship variables in LS could be larger for girls than boys. Also, children's interpersonal relationships, especially after the age of eight have been shown

to be an important correlate of their life satisfaction (Huebner 2008). Thus, age of the child should be considered in testing the associations among these variables.

Previous studies investigating the effect of attachment security on friendship quality and subjective well-being have been mostly conducted in North American cultures. Furthermore, the majority of the previous studies utilized a secure vs. insecure split in their analyses and did not specially examine the effect of anxious and avoidant attachment to parents on friendship and LS. Although there exist studies using attachment classifications of children, as secure, avoidant and resistant (or ambivalent), and compared them on the given outcome variables, they did not distinguish between anxious and avoidant attachment to mothers as the continuous fundamental dimensions of attachment.

Only a few studies investigated the effect of attachment to parents and friendship quality on LS (e.g., Ma and Huebner 2008), well-being (e.g., Kankotan 2008) or overall psychological functioning (e.g., Rubin et al. 2004). Rubin et al. (2004) and Booth-LaForce et al. (2005) specifically examined whether perceived parental support (representing attachment security) and friendship quality predict global self-worth, internalizing and externalizing problems, and social competence in peer relationship in middle childhood. These studies have shown that parental support and friendship quality predicted lower level of rejection from friends and less victimization for girls only. They also found that parental support and friendship have both independent and interactive effects on psychological functioning including high global worth and less behavior problems. Although they did not directly assess well-being or LS, their findings imply that attachment security and friendship quality may have independent effects on LS.

These studies, however, did not specifically investigate if anxious or avoidant attachment to parents and friendship quality uniquely predict LS. Considering that attachment security and friendship quality are consistently correlated and these constructs, in turn, similarly correlate with happiness and LS with a range between $r = 0.30$ and 0.50 for almost all ages in previous studies (see Demir at al. 2013; Mikulincer and Shaver 2013), it is imperative to examine how much variance in LS can be accounted for by friendship quality beyond attachment (in)security. Furthermore, the potential mediating and/or moderating associations between the attachment dimensions and friendship quality have not been explored yet. Finally, the associations between attachment, friendship, and LS (or overall well-being) have been mostly studied among adolescents and adults, ignoring the middle childhood, in which children begin to establish stable friendships (Holder and Coleman "Children's friendships and positive well-being"; Mayseless 2005).

Attachment in the Cultural Context

Past studies have shown that whereas attachment security is the optimal normative pattern in the majority of the cultures, both degree and the type of attachment insecurity vary greatly across cultures (Rothbaum et al. 2000; van IJzendoorn and Sagi 2008).

Because of their varying cultural adaptive value, attachment anxiety in collectivist cultures and attachment avoidance in individualistic cultures seem to be more prevalent. In an initial meta-analysis on infant attachment classification, van IJzendoorn and Kroonenberg (1988) found that although there was no cultural difference on secure classification, anxious-resistant category was relatively higher in collectivistic cultures, such as Japan, and avoidant category was common in Anglo-Saxon individualist cultures, such as Germany and Holland. Similar cultural variation was recently observed in the adult attachment classification. Using samples from 64 cultures from all continents, Schmitt et al. (2004) found that preoccupied romantic attachment, which is typified with high attachment anxiety and low avoidance, is particularly common in East Asian cultures and dismissing attachment, which is characterized by low attachment anxiety and high attachment avoidance, is common in Western cultures.

The degree of interpersonal distance that shapes the level of cohesion and harmony in close relationships in a given culture appears to be associated with the prevalence of attachment anxiety and avoidance. Rothbaum et al. (2002) argued that since extreme dependency, especially between the mother and child, is functional in cultures valuing closely knit relatedness, attachment anxiety (or anxious ambivalent attachment) should not be seen as abnormal or maladaptive. In contrast, since attachment avoidance may imply a complete independence, rejection or exclusion, it may be critically maladaptive in collectivist/relational cultures. Recently Friedman et al. (2010) systematizing these arguments using the "cultural fit hypothesis" suggesting that culturally incongruent pattern of attachment orientation would have stronger effects on relationship quality. Specifically, attachment avoidance in collectivist cultures and attachment anxiety in individualist cultures have relatively a stronger power in predicting relationship functioning.

Cultural differences in peer relationship and friendship dynamics indeed begin in early childhood with the caregivers' socialization goals, believes, and expectations for children's peer relationships, which in turn, reflect into the cultural scripts guiding the expectations from peers and friends across the life-span (Edwards et al. 2006; French et al. 2011). Consistently, because of the cultural value attached to friendship, its function in personal well-being may change across cultures (e.g., Demir et al. 2012). Attachment orientations are expected to influence and shape the dynamics of friendship functions as well as subjective well-being depending on the cultural congruence of the assessed attachment orientations, namely attachment anxiety or attachment avoidance. For instance, if cultural scripts in peer relationships are formed in terms of in-group solidarity, intimacy, and emotional interdependency, attachment avoidance can sharply contrast with the expectations from friends, and thus harms the quality of friendship in relational/collectivist cultures. However, if cultural scripts orient the children to expect intimacy as a not required attribute in friendship, and thus, see the friends as nonintimate acquaintances (see Triandis et al. 1988), attachment avoidance, relative to attachment anxiety, may not be a critical threat for friendship quality and LS in individualist cultures.

Turkish familial and in-group relationships are generally characterized by close-ly knit ties which are called by Kağıtçıbaşı (2005) as "psychological/emotional in-terdependence family model" referring a dialectical synthesis of both self-reliance and interpersonal harmony, rather than complete independence or interdependence within the family. Therefore, considering the divergent adaptiveness of attachment dimensions, Sümer and Kağıtçıbaşı (2010) argued that attachment avoidance of parents, especially mothers, would be more maladaptive than attachment anxiety, and thus, would be predictive of children's attachment (in)security in collectivist/relational cultures. Supporting their expectation, they found that attachment avoid-ance of mothers, rather than their attachment anxiety, predicted negatively their children's attachment security in middle childhood. Consistent with this finding, Selçuk et al. (2010) demonstrated that mothers' attachment avoidance, but not at-tachment anxiety, predicted global maternal sensitivity observed in the daily inter-actions with their young children, even after controlling for the child's temperament in Turkey.

Based on the above arguments and previous findings, it can be argued that at-tachment avoidance may not be very dysfunctional in the individualist cultures in which interpersonal boundaries are not unclear and individuals can make friends easily but with low emotional interdependence. However, it would be detrimen-tal for friendship quality and LS in the relational cultures in which interpersonal boundaries are fuzzy and emotional closeness and interdependency are expected. Therefore, it can be expected that attachment avoidance relative to attachment anxi-ety would be strongly associated with LS as well as friendship quality in the rela-tional/collectivist cultures, such as Turkey.

In conclusion, previous studies conducted in the Western cultures have mostly focused on the secure/insecure division and commonly implied that insecure attach-ment to parents deteriorate the quality of relationships with friends and creates a risk for LS. However, they have left unexamined whether the differences in insecure patterns, namely anxious and avoidant attachment to parents, have varying effects on LS during middle childhood in the collectivist context. It was also uninvestigated if friendship quality can predict LS above and beyond the effects of the attachment dimensions. Furthermore, the potential moderating and/or mediating roles of friend-ship quality between attachment dimensions and LS wait further examinations.

Overview

In line with the past research on attachment and friendship, and cultural arguments on attachment insecurity, the present study has specifically focused on the inter-play between the attachment dimensions and friendship quality in predicting LS. Considering that mothers are the most significant attachment figure in predicting the quality of friendship and other child outcome variables in middle childhood and early adolescence (e.g., Kerns 2008; Schneider et al. 2001), anxious and avoid-ant attachment to mother were assessed representing the attachment dimensions.

Considering that both attachment (in)security and friendship quality are the critical predictors of LS, this study aims to test the three alternative models to better understand both their unique and joined effects on LS. Specifically, first, after controlling for child age, it was tested if friendship quality and conflict predict unique variance on LS above and beyond the two attachment dimensions. Considering that attachment to mother has a developmental priority over friendship, they were entered to the equation in the second step followed by the friendship variables in the third step in the hierarchical regression analyses.

The second model aims to test the potential moderating effects of friendship quality. Using the same hierarchical regressions explained in the first model, the four interaction terms between the attachment dimensions, friendship quality, and conflict were entered in final step. Given that the interaction between attachment anxiety and avoidance reflects the four categories of attachment, namely, secure, preoccupied, dismissing, and fearful (Brennan et al. 1998), this interaction was also added to the equation in the final step to see if there exists a specific attachment style predicting LS above the effects of the two fundamental dimensions. The third models aims to test if friendship mediates the effects of attachment on LS. For this purpose, a model in which the two friendship variables mediate the effects of attachment dimensions on LS was tested.

Considering the cultural arguments summarized above, it was expected that the power of attachment avoidance would be stronger than attachment anxiety in all proposed models among Turkish children. Finally, considering potential gender differences on attachment and friendship, models were tested separately for girls and boys, expecting that the effects would be stronger among girls than boys.

Method

Following ethical approval from the university's Institutional Review Board, participants were recruited through three public middle schools in Ankara, Turkey. Recruitment letters explaining the aim of study and asking for parental approval for the student to participate in the study were sent to the parents of fifth to eight grade children. Children whose parental permission were received (consent rate = 80 %) were given the questionnaire battery during one of the class hours assigned by the classroom teacher. It took about 40 min for children to fill out the scales. The final sample consisted of 357 students (M_{age} = 11.90, SD = 1.15; with a range of 10–14, 52 % males). Students completed the following measures together with the demographic questions.

Attachment Orientations Anxious and avoidant attachment to mothers was measured using the Experiences in Close Relationships Scale-Revised (the ECR-RC) developed by Brenning et al. (2011) to measure attachment anxiety and avoidance for middle childhood. The ECR-RC was originally developed on the basis of Fraley et al. (2000) 36-item measure of Experiences in Close Relationships-Revised (the ECR-R) developed for romantic relationships. Brenning and her colleagues

modified the items of the ECR-R for middle childhood targeting attachment to parents. The ECR-RC contains two 18-item scales that measure attachment-related anxiety (e.g., "I'm worried that my mother doesn't really love me") and avoidance (e.g., "I prefer not to get too close to my mother" to mothers. Both the ECR-R and the ECR-RC were previously adopted into Turkish (Selçuk et al. 2005; Kırımer et al. 2013). Students rated items on a seven-point scale ranging from "1 = strongly disagree" to "7 = strongly agree". In the current study, the subscales of attachment anxiety and avoidance had satisfactory internal consistency (Cronbach's alphas = 0.85 and 0.90, respectively).

Friendship Quality and Conflict The quality and conflict in students' friendship relations was measured via Bukowski et al. (1994) Friendship Qualities Scale (the FQS) consisting of 23 items. The FQS has five subscales (companionship, help, security, closeness, and conflict) and participants used 5-point scales ranging from "completely false" to "completely true" to rate the items. Participants were asked to respond to the items considering their best or close friends. The sex of the friends was not assessed.

The FQS was translated into Turkish and then back translated by three PhD students and faculty members who are fluent in both languages. Factor analyses on the items of the FQS yielded a clear two-factor structure representing friendship quality (18 items, e.g., "My friend would help me if I needed it") and friendship conflict (5 items, e.g., "I can get into fights with my friend."). Both friendship quality and conflict subscales had acceptable reliability coefficients (Alphas = 0.94 and 0.65).

Life Satisfaction Huebner's (1991) seven-item Students' Life Satisfaction Scale (SLSS) was relied on using 6-point scales ranging from "completely disagree" to "completely agree." The SLSS can be used for children of ages 8–18 (e.g., "My life is going well"). The SLSS was translated into Turkish, and then, back translated by three PhD students and faculty members who are fluent in both languages. The SLSS had satisfactory Cronbach's alpha (0.82).

Results

Initial analyses yielded no significant sex differences on life satisfaction (LS) and attachment anxiety. However, there were significant differences on the remaining three major variables. As seen in Table 1, boys reported higher levels of attachment avoidance than girls (t (355) = 3.38, $p < 0.001$, $d = 0.37$). Girls reported higher level of friendship quality (t (355) = 4.50, $p < 0.001$; $d = 0.48$), but lower levels of conflict when compared to boys (t (355) = −2.90, $p < 0.01$; $d = −0.32$, respectively). Considering these significant differences, remaining analyses were run separately for girls and boys.

As seen in Table 1, age was significantly correlated with LS and attachment avoidance for girls ($r = −0.22$, $p < 0.01$, $r = 0.23$, $p < 0.01$, respectively), but not for boys ($r = −0.04$, $r = 0.13$, respectively). LS was significantly correlated with both attachment and friendship variables for both gender though the correlation between

Table 1 Descriptive statistics and correlations between the major variables in the study

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	M		SD	
							Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Age	—	−0.22**	0.23**	0.02	0.13	−0.02	11.87	11.89	1.17	1.14
Life satisfaction	−0.04	—	−0.50***	−0.46***	0.26***	−0.28***	4.19	4.20	1.23	1.16
Attachment avoidance	0.13	−0.44***	—	−0.58***	−0.16*	0.24**	2.18	2.57	1.02	1.18
Attachment anxiety	−0.06	−0.25***	0.43***	—	−0.20**	0.26***	1.89	1.91	0.87	0.87
Friendship quality	−0.14	0.32***	−0.25***	−0.10	—	−0.46***	4.15	3.76	0.70	0.91
Friendship conflict	−0.09	−0.32***	0.29***	0.39***	−0.41***	—	2.23	2.49	0.79	0.84

Correlations for girls ($n=170$) are reported above the diagonal, boys ($n=187$) below the diagonal *$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$, ***$p<0.001$

LS and attachment anxiety was stronger for girls ($r=-0.46$, $p<0.001$) than boys ($r=-0.25$, $p<0.001$). Attachment anxiety and avoidance were moderately strongly correlated for both boys and girls ($r=0.43$, $p<0.001$, $r=0.58$, $p<0.001$, respectively). Both attachment anxiety and avoidance were significantly correlated with friendship quality and conflict except that attachment anxiety was not significantly correlated with friendship quality for boys. As would be expected, friendship quality and conflict were negatively significantly correlated for both genders (see Table 1).

Hierarchical moderated regressions were run on LS to test the unique and moderated effects of attachment dimensions and friendship variables for girls and boys separately. In these analyses, age of children was entered in the first step to control for its effect. Attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance were entered in the second step followed by friendship quality and conflict in the third step to see their unique contribution to LS above and beyond the effects of attachment dimensions. Finally, all two-way interaction terms between attachment dimensions and friendship variables were entered in the fourth step to specifically test the moderating effects. All predictors were centered, and then, the interaction terms were produced before the analyses.

As seen in Table 2, age of girls, both not boys, significantly and negatively predicted their LS ($\beta=-0.22$, $p<0.01$). After controlling for the effect of age, supporting the expectations, attachment avoidance negatively predicted friendship quality for both girls ($\beta=-0.30$, $p<0.001$) and boys ($\beta=-0.41$, $p<0.001$). Whereas attachment anxiety did not predict boys' LS ($\beta=-0.08$, ns), it predicted girls' LS ($\beta=-0.28$, $p<0.01$). The two attachment dimensions explained relatively larger unique variance on girls' LS (26%) than on boys' LS (20%). In the third step, friendship quality significantly predicted LS for both girls ($\beta=0.15$, $p<0.05$) and boys ($\beta=0.19$, $p<0.01$) above and beyond the effects of attachment dimensions with relatively weak beta weights, friendship conflict, however, did not have significant effect on LS. The friendship variables accounted for a significant additional unique variance on LS (4% for girls and 6% for boys). The total explained variances on LS by all predictors were relatively higher for girls (39%) than boys (27%).

Out of five interaction terms, only the interaction between attachment avoidance and friendship quality among girls significantly predicted LS ($\beta=-0.21$, $p<0.01$). The significant interaction was plotted by following the procedures outlined by Aiken and West (1991). As presented in Fig. 1, the pattern of the interaction showed that girls' avoidant attachment to their mothers was affected differently depending on their level of friendship quality. Regardless of their attachment avoidance, girls with low levels of friendship quality had also low LS. However, LS of those with high friendship quality varied depending on their level of attachment avoidance. Those with high friendship quality had the highest LS if they had low attachment avoidance (i.e., secure attachment to mothers). However, if they had high level of attachment avoidance they still had relatively low LS even though they also had high friendship quality, suggesting that friendship quality enhances girls' LS only if it accompanies low attachment avoidance.

Testing the third alternative, mediational model proposing that friendship quality and conflict mediate the link between the attachment dimensions and LS was

Table 2 Hierarchical regression analysis predicting life satisfaction among girls and boys

	Girls ($n=170$)				Boys ($n=187$)			
	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	$F\Delta$	β	R^2	$R^2\Delta$	$F\Delta$
Step1 Age		0.05	0.05	8.78**		0.00	0.00	0.23
Age	−0.22**				−0.04			
Step2 Attachment		0.31	0.26	31.38***		0.20	0.20	22.23***
Attachment avoidance	−0.30***				−0.41***			
Attachment anxiety	−0.28***				−0.08			
Step3 Friendship		0.35	0.04	4.75**		0.26	0.06	7.70***
Friendship quality	0.15*				0.19**			
Friendship conflict	−0.09				−0.13			
Step4 Interaction		39	0.04	1.89†		0.27	0.01	0.69
Avoidance × anxiety	−0.02				0.11			
Avoidance × quality	−0.21**				0.06			
Avoidance × conflict	−0.11				−0.06			
Anxiety × quality	0.16				−0.02			
Anxiety × conflict	0.09				0.01			

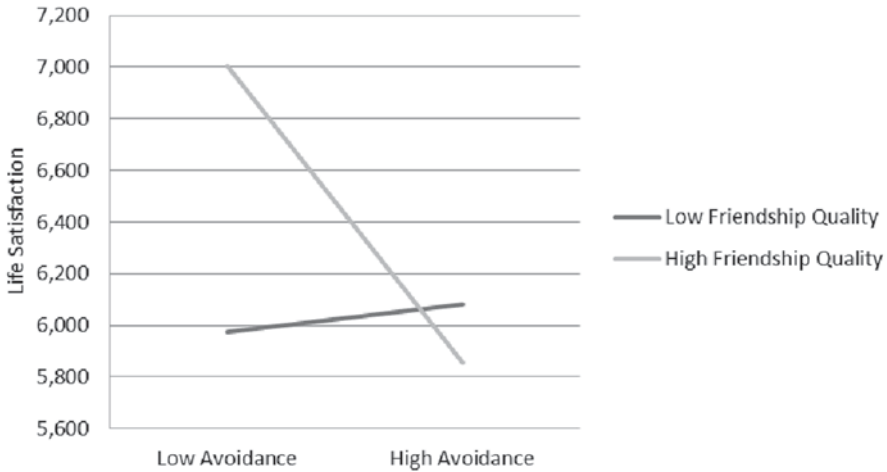†$p<0.10$, *$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$, ***$p<0.001$

Fig. 1 Interaction between attachment avoidance and friendship quality in predicting life satisfaction among girls

run separately for girls and boys using the conventional approach with a series of multiple regressions. The bootstrap estimation was not used in testing the proposed model since two IVs (attachment anxiety and avoidance) should be entered into the equation simultaneously to control for their shared effects and only one IV can be used in the conventional bootstrap techniques. In these analyses, attachment anxiety and avoidance were used as the independent variables, friendship quality and conflict were used as the mediators, and the LS as the single dependent variable estimating all of direct and indirect paths. Since direct effects of both mediators (friendship quality and conflict) on LS were not significant in the analyses for girls, technically there was no significant mediating effect of friendship variables. However, as seen in Fig. 2, supporting the partial mediation effect, friendship quality partially mediated the relationship between attachment avoidance and LS among boys. Sobel test confirmed the significance of the indirect effect (t (170)$=1.99$, $p<0.05$). Sig-
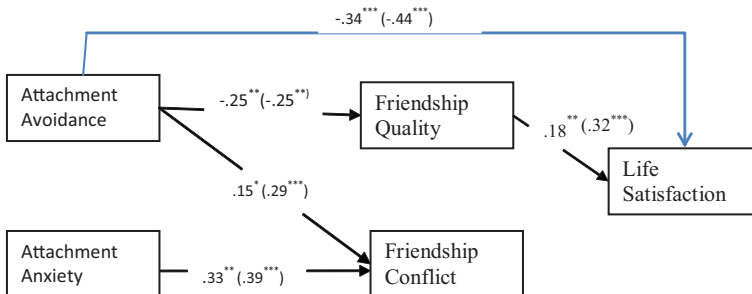

Fig. 2 Mediational role of friendship variables between attachment dimensions and life satisfaction (Notes: Values in parentheses are zero-order correlations *$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$, ***$p<0.001$)

nificant indirect effect explained an additional 5 % of the variance on LS. Although both attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance had direct effects on friendship conflict ($\beta=0.33$, $p<0.001$, $\beta=0.15$, $p<0.05$, respectively), friendship conflict, in turn, had only marginally significant effect on LS ($\beta=-0.13$, $p<0.10$) among boys. Hence, friendship conflict did not have a significant mediating effect.

Discussion

The main goal of the study was to identify independent and joined effects of the attachment dimensions (i.e., anxiety and avoidance), friendship quality, and conflict in predicting LS. Overall, results partially confirmed the expectation that attachment dimensions and friendship quality predict LS both uniquely (independently) and jointly both in interactive and mediating patterns in middle childhood. However, both magnitude and the pattern of association among the variables varied across gender, and friendship conflict did not predict LS above and beyond the effects of the attachment dimensions and friendship quality. Confirming the cultural expectation, avoidant attachment to mothers, rather than anxious attachment, predicted LS, especially for boys. Furthermore, attachment avoidance had additional effect on LS via the moderating effect of friendship quality for girls and mediating effect of friendship quality for boys.

Specifically, findings revealed that attachment avoidance among boys and both attachment avoidance and anxiety among girls predicted LS. Although friendship quality also independently predicted LS above the effects of attachment dimensions, the variance on LS explained by attachment dimensions, especially attachment avoidance was larger than friendship quality for both sexes, suggesting that attachment security is the critical source for sustained LS and friendship quality has an additional impact. The second and third models testing moderating and mediating associations, respectively, however, showed that, in addition to its weak effect on LS, friendship quality contributes to LS via moderating and mediating the effect of attachment avoidance. Similar to the findings of the current study, Rubin et al. (2004) found that perceived parental support and friendship quality independently predict higher global self-worth and better psychosocial function. Similar to the moderating effect found in this study, Rubin et al. found that high friendship quality moderates the effects of low maternal support corresponding insecure attachment on girls' internalizing problems. Although they did not specifically measure avoidant and anxious attachment to mothers, these findings together suggest that friendship quality seems to play a moderating role between attachment security and child's positive outcomes including LS for girls.

Although it was expected that attachment avoidance would be stronger than attachment anxiety in predicting LS, this was supported for boys only. Both attachment dimensions were similarly predictive of LS for girls. Similarly, in her study on Turkish university students, Kankotan (2008) found that both attachment anxiety and attachment avoidance negatively predicted LS. Considering its strong role in

anxiously attached women's relationship conflict (e.g., Campbell et al. 2005), attachment anxiety seems be as critical as attachment avoidance for psychological adjustment of girls in middle childhood. Specifically, findings showed that anxious attachment to mothers is associated with friendship conflict. Overall, regardless of cultural differences, attachment-related anxiety seems to be systematically related with relationship conflict because of the working models of anxiously attached individuals that guide the perceptions of close relationships, including friendship, within the framework of threatening conflict and exaggerated need for support (Campbell et al. 2005). Therefore, although friendship quality and life satisfaction are mainly associated with lower level of attachment avoidance, conflict with peers is predominantly influenced by heightened attachment anxiety in Turkish culture.

Results also showed that attachment anxiety significantly predicted friendship conflict for both girls ($\beta=0.18$, $p<0.05$) and boys ($\beta=0.33$, $p<0.05$) in the mediational model though friendship conflict, in turn, did not predict LS once attachment dimensions and friendship quality were control for. In conclusion, these results suggest that both attachment avoidance and friendship quality predominantly predict LS and attachment anxiety predominantly predicts friendship conflict in middle childhood.

Regression results showed that age of children significantly predicted girls' LS, but not boys' LS, suggesting that probably because of their earlier pubertal stress, girls at the end of middle childhood and early adolescence may experience more stress that deteriorates their well-being relative to boys. After controlling for the effect of age, attachment and friendship variables together explained more variance in LS among girls' (39%) when compared to boys' (27%) implying that these close relationships play a more important role for girls than boys. These findings are in line with previous studies and arguments suggesting that the general link between close relationships and happiness are much stronger for women (Saphire-Bernstein and Taylor 2013). However, it is important to note that the idea that friendships might be more important for the well-being of girls than boys was not supported (Rose and Rudolph 2006). Specifically, friendship experiences accounted for more variance in boys (6%) than girls (4%). These findings are consistent with recent research among young adults (Demir and Davidson 2013). Thus, more research distinguishing different types of relationships are needed on the topic.

The moderating model indicated that friendship quality moderates the effect of attachment avoidance for girls only. The pattern of the moderating effect suggested that friendship quality strengthens the effect of low attachment avoidance or attachment security. In their moderated model in predicting child overall psychosocial adjustment, Booth et al. (2005) asserted that friendship quality plays a compensatory function when family relationships are inadequate. This assertion was not supported in this study considering the prediction of LS. However, consistent with some of the previous studies (e.g., Kerns et al. 1996), the pattern of interaction in this study implied that girls who are securely attached to their mothers can benefit more from friendship quality to enhance their LS than those who are insecurely

attached. Therefore, it can be argued that friendship quality has an additive function rather than a compensatory function.

As shown in the mediated models, consistent with the previous findings on emerging adults in Turkey demonstrating that attachment avoidance had a dominant effect on the same-sex friendship quality (Özen et al. 2011), children's avoidant attachment to their mothers, rather than attachment anxiety, had more adverse effects on friendship quality. Furthermore, extending the previous finding, the detrimental effects of attachment avoidance was not limited to friendship quality, but also extended to overall life satisfaction. It seems that attachment avoidance which is characterized by compulsive use of deactivating strategies and repression of attachment need and emotions from parents (Mikulincer and Shaver 2007) creates a serious risk factor for the optimal functioning in relationships with friends as well as life satisfaction in middle childhood in the Turkish cultural context.

Most research on the attachment and friendship predictors of happiness and LS has been conducted among adolescents or emerging adults (collage students) in the Western cultures. This study tested the effects of the two fundamental dimensions of attachment among secondary school children in Turkey. Although most of the findings are consistent with the findings of previous studies, some of the findings seem to be culture specific and still have critical implications for both schools and families. For instance, as outlined by Huebner and Diener (2008), life satisfaction and school satisfaction go hand in hand and enhancing LS does not only enhance one's well-being and happiness but also helps her/him function better within the family and at school.

Comparison of sexes indicated that boys reported higher attachment avoidance to their mothers than girls. Meta-analytic studies have shown than men have higher attachment avoidance than women among adults (e.g., Del Giudice 2011). In a recent study, Del Giudice (2011) found marked sex differences in the distribution of insecure attachment patterns in middle childhood showing that boys were more avoidant than girls with a large effect size. Del Giudice argued that gender differences in attachment orientations begin about 6–7 years of age together with the other factors related with biased gender socialization roles and evolutionary demands. This is also consistent with the findings that boys' attachment to mothers was weaker than girls in middle childhood and early adolescence (Kerns et al. 2006; Sümer and Anafarta-Şendağ 2009), probably because of their desire for more autonomy.

Girls reported higher friendship quality and lower conflict with friends than boys, which seem to be consistent with the previous findings (e.g., Kerns et al. 1996). Although Schneider et al. (2001) did not find a gender difference regarding the effect size for the association between child-parent attachment and peer relationship, gender socialization in friendship is expected to vary between girls' and boys' roles in Turkish cultural context. Girls' friendships are usually characterized by harmony more communal sharing with less outdoor activities, whereas boys' friendships are characterized by competition in outdoor activities, which may make them relatively prone to conflict with peers as compared to girls. Similar to the findings of this study, Israeli boys in middle childhood were found to have higher

levels of conflict and use more hostile strategies and less compromising strategies in managing conflict than girls (Scharf 2013). Although the level of conflict was much lower than the friendship quality for both boys and girls, boys appear to be more conflict oriented than girls in both individualist and collectivist cultures in middle childhood (French et al. 2011).

Supporting the cultural expectation, attachment avoidance, but not attachment anxiety, predicted friendship quality, boys' LS, and interacted with friendship quality in predicting girls' LS, suggesting that attachment avoidance exacerbates the quality of peer relationships among Turkish children. Although a recent longitudinal study has indicated that best friendship quality is systematically associated with the development trajectory of low attachment avoidance (Fraley et al. 2013), cross-cultural generality of the predictive power of attachment dimensions should be examined further. However, recently Scharf (2013) found that anxious/ambivalent attachment which corresponds to attachment anxiety is also associated with low competence within close friendship. Although Scharf did not measure attachment avoidance, the predictive power of the two dimensions of attachment should be compared in further cross-cultural studies.

The findings of this study should be interpreted by considering several limitations. First, although this study has a culture-specific assumption regarding the effect of the fundamental attachment dimensions, validity of the findings should be confirmed using a comparison group from an individualistic culture. Although this study did not have a comparison group from the Western individualistic cultures, results, overall, support the idea that attachment insecurities may have varying dysfunctional and predictive values depending on the cultural context. However, potentially divergent functions of the fundamental attachment dimensions in explaining cultural differences in the dynamics of close relationships still await further research. Second, attachment to mothers and all outcome variables were measured in a cross-sectional design using only children's self-reports which are open to response bias, common method variance, and inflated correlations. Third, only attachment to mothers was measured ignoring the role of father attachment. Considering that attachment security to father plays a critical role in social competence, especially in friendship conflict (Lieberman et al. 1999), future studies should also measure the role of anxious and avoidant attachment to fathers. Finally, given that mean level of life satisfaction is relatively high for all participants, the ceiling effect seemed to lower the variance in LS by limiting the magnitude of effect sizes.

Despite these limitations, the present study extends the previous work in this arena in three critical ways. First, the study examined the individual differences, not only on the basis of secure vs. insecure division, but also in the two fundamental dimensions of attachment anxiety and avoidance. Hence, the effects of multifaceted pattern of individual differences in attachment to mothers on child's friendship quality and LS were depicted. Second, the interplay between attachment and friendship were examined considering the three main alternative explanations, namely, models of independent, moderated, and mediated effects. Third, the study was conducted in a non-Western culture in which the dynamics of both attachment and peer relationship has not been adequately explored.

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How are Positive and Negative Peer Relations Related to Positive and Negative Affect in Adolescents Over Time in New Zealand?

Paul E. Jose

The question of whether peer relationships yield positive or negative affect in adolescents is easy to answer: they foster *both* happiness and unhappiness. As Goswami (2012) and others (Altermatt and Ivers 2011; Berry et al. 2000; La Greca and Harrison 2005) have proposed, children and adolescents engage in a wide variety of social relationships with peers, and some of these promote positive interactions that result in positive affect, and some of these involve negative interactions that result in negative affect. The present report details findings obtained from a longitudinal study of peer connectedness in adolescents designed to answer the key questions of whether positive peer connectedness fosters positive affect over time and whether negative peer influence fosters negative affect over time.

The Positive Influences of Peers

Hundreds of studies have documented the common sense notion that children and adolescents derive happiness and positive affect from close friendships (e.g., Argyle 2001; Demir et al. 2011; Majors 2012). For a review of the 'friendships lead to greater happiness' hypothesis, see the chapter by Demir et al. (2013). The experienced happiness derives from multiple aspects of these interpersonal interchanges: doing enjoyable activities together, the emotional and physical support, mutual confirmation of identity, and satisfaction of social connectedness needs. In the present report we will focus on perceptions of social connectedness. It was defined in the

P. E. Jose (✉)
Victoria University of Wellington, Wellington, New Zealand
e-mail: paul.jose@vuw.ac.nz

present study as perceived closeness with friends, number of friendships, and perceived trust and support from friends. Although several short-term longitudinal studies have been conducted on this topic (e.g., Fabes et al. 2012), few studies have examined the relationship of happiness and social connectedness over one year's time period, which we will do in the present case.

Few researchers have turned this equation on its head and asked whether happy individuals end up reporting greater connectedness to peers. The 'happiness leads to success' hypothesis of Lyubomirsky et al. (2005) is germane to this question. These authors showed that chronically happy people reported success in a variety of different contexts, including in the domain of friendships. In the area of friendships, Adams (1988) found evidence that number and quality of friendships among older women were predictive of increases in psychological well-being over time. However, few researchers have examined this proposition, and evidence for this hypothesis is lacking, particularly for adolescents. Phrased in a straightforward way, we can ask whether over time happy people are more likely to develop more successful friendships than unhappy people.

The Negative Influences of Peers

The literature is rife with examples of how peers (and in some cases, friends) exert a deleterious influence on children and adolescents. The topics of bullying, social exclusion, relational conflict, and negative peer pressure are several examples of the 'dark side' of peer relationships (Jose et al. 2012a; Killen et al. 2009; Lösel and Bender 2011; Scholte et al. 2007). In the present case, we will focus on negative peer influences, which are defined as peer pressure that coerces behaviour toward antisocial or maladaptive outcomes. For example, teenagers may report that their friends or peers pressure them to take up smoking, commit petty crime (graffiti), or engage in precocious sexual acts. Existing literature (Chen and Killeya-Jones 2006; Huefner & Ringle 2012; Mrug et al. 2012) has shown that individuals who experience negative peer pressure also report higher levels of negative health and social outcomes, although most of this work has focused on criminal or antisocial behavioural outcomes. In the present case, we ask the question whether negative peer influences lead to an increase in negative affect (e.g., depressive thought) over time, an understudied topic (although see Scott & Dearing 2012).

The obverse face of the 'happiness leads to success' theory could be called the 'sadness leads to social failure' theory. Theory and research in developmental psychopathology (e.g., Cicchetti and Cohen 2006) would consider sadness or depressive thought to be a vulnerability factor for social ineptitude. We have not found any evidence to support the specific proposed pathway from negative peer influences to negative affect, and we are similarly not aware of any studies that have shown that sad or depressed individuals experience greater negative peer influence over time, although both pathways seem sensible given the literature on these topics.

Depressed adolescents would likely be less socially skilled, and, as a result, more susceptible to peers who would try to manipulate their behaviour. Depressed teens may be more willing to bend to the will of their peers in order to win acceptance in their social group, and/or their depressive state may make them more willing to engage in risky activities.

Predictions

The current study was designed to answer several questions with regard to how positive and negative affect are related to positive peer connectedness and negative peer influences.

Hypothesis 1 It was expected that adolescents reporting higher peer connectedness at Time 1 (T1) would evidence an increase in positive affect at T2 one year later.

Hypothesis 2 In reverse, it was predicted that adolescents reporting higher positive affect at T1 would evidence an increase in peer connectedness at T2.

Hypothesis 3 On the negative side, adolescents reporting higher negative peer influences at T1 were expected to manifest an increase in negative affect at T2.

Hypothesis 4 Adolescents reporting higher negative affect at T1 were predicted to exhibit an increase in negative peer influences at T2.

All possible longitudinal relationships were examined in this research, and thus we explored several other possible relationships, namely that peer connectedness would predict decreases in both negative affect and negative peer influences over time, and that negative peer influences would predict decreases in both positive affect and peer connectedness as well.

Method

Participants

Self-report data were collected at the first time of measurement from child and adolescent students (recruited from 78 schools), ranging in age between 10 and 15 years. At this first measurement occasion, students were on average 12.21 years old ($SD = 1.75$). The obtained sample approximated a nationally representative sample of adolescents in New Zealand in several respects. The gender ratio was 52 % females/48 % males, and children and adolescents were obtained from a wide range of different types of schools that possessed the full range of socio-economic scores (SES) in New Zealand: our average school SES score was 5.2, very near the national average of 5.0.

Our sample varied from national representativeness in two respects. First, our obtained percentages of participants from urban/suburban/rural schools were 61%/33%/6%, which varied to some degree from the national averages of 71%/15%/14% (Statistics New Zealand 2001). And second, the project sought to oversample Maori individuals so that this minority culture could be examined in the future, and we were successful in doing so (but in the process we undersampled European New Zealand (ENZ) youth). Percentages in the first year were: 52% ENZ (about 75% by census); 30% Maori (about 20% by census); 12% Pacific Islanders; and 6% Other.

Questionnaires were administered once a year over two consecutive years at the same time during each school year. Due to attrition over this period of time, the number of students declined from an initial sample of 2,174 at Time 1 to 1,774 at Time 2 (16.8% attrition rate). The retained sample was compared with the group of adolescents who did not participate in all three measurement occasions. The two groups did not significantly differ on the measured variables.

Procedure

One hundred and two schools were approached in the North Island of New Zealand in order to recruit the sample and we received approval from 78, a 76.5% agreement rate. Once the school agreed to the procedure, we sent information sheets and consent forms home with the adolescents. Subsequently, we ran data collection sessions with 30 laptop computers in the schools to obtain the data from adolescents who both returned consent forms signed by a parent and also assented to the procedure. Ethical approval was obtained from a university ethics committee, and all schools and principals agreed to the procedures before data were collected. The computer-administered questionnaire contained questions structured and presented through SurveyPro, so the presentation of questions was similar to that used with internet surveys. Respondents indicated their answers by pointing and clicking, which made the process faster, easier, and more engaging than marking answers with a pencil on paper. At the first time of measurement, some of the younger participants needed one hour to completely respond to the questionnaire, but the amount of time required to complete the measures decreased appreciably on the second time of measurement. Research assistants and teachers were always available to assist in answering queries about particular words or procedure and ensuring confidentiality.

Measures

Peer connectedness Seven items examining relationships with peers at school, happiness with number of close friends, and support from friends were used to assess peer connectedness. All items were generated for this study. The two school peer relationship questions asked how well students got on with their classmates

and other students in the school. Item response options ranged from one ("not at all well") to five ("really well"). The two questions relating to happiness with number of close friends used a 5-point scale ranging from one ("very unhappy") to five ("very happy"). The three peer support questions (e.g., "I can trust my friends with personal problems") used a 5-point Likert scale. Use of this construct has been previously reported in Jose et al. (2012b). The alpha coefficient for both of the two waves was 0.79. Note that this construct included both quantity and quality judgments in regard to peer networks. Previous work (Demir et al. 2013; Nangle et al. 2003) has distinguished between quality and quantity of peer relationships as predictors of psychological outcomes, but in the present case, we chose to combine them.

Negative peer influences Three questions written for the present study were used to assess the degree to which individuals misbehaved to comply with peer pressure. The three stems were "Gone against the wishes of adults (e.g., parents, teachers) to make your friends happy," "Done badly at something (e.g., schoolwork, sport) just to please your friends," and "Done something that could get you in trouble because your friends wanted you to do it", and responses were made on a 5-point Likert scale from "*never/almost never*" (1) to "*always/almost always*" (5). The Cronbach's alphas for the two times of measurement were 0.79 and 0.83.

Positive affect Three items assessing positive affect or happiness were taken from the CES-D (Radloff 1977), namely "I was happy", "I enjoyed life", and "I felt hopeful about the future". Psychometric work by Schoevers et al. (2000) supports the separate use of the positive and negative items from the CES-D to capture PA and NA. Respondents rated themselves on each characteristic using a 4-point frequency scale: "How many days out of the last week have you felt _____?" (1) "less than 1 day"; (2) "1–2 days"; (3) "3–4 days"; or (4) "5–7 days". Cronbach's alphas for T1 and T2 respectively were 0.70 and 0.71.

Negative affect Four items were taken from the CES-D (Radloff 1977) to capture the construct of depressive symptoms or negative affect. The four stems, using the same response format as for the positive affect items described above, were "I got upset by things that don't usually upset me", "I felt lonely", "I felt sad", and "I could not stop feeling bad, even when others friends to cheer me up. Internal reliabilities were 0.76 and 0.80 for the two times of measurement.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 1 details the means, standard deviations, and correlations among all four constructs across the two times of measurement. Since all variables were placed on a 1–5 metric, it is apparent that most adolescents reported relatively high positive

Table 1 Descriptive statistics: Means, standard deviations, and correlations

	Pos Aff T1	Peer Conn T1	Neg Aff T1	Neg Peer Infl T1	Pos Aff T2	Peer Conn T2	Neg Aff T2	Neg Peer Infl T2
Pos Aff T1		0.24**	−0.35**	−0.13**	0.31**	0.19**	−0.19**	−0.10**
Peer Conn T1			−0.09**	−0.09**	0.18**	0.52**	−0.06*	−0.09**
Neg Aff T1				0.20**	−0.17**	−0.07**	0.32*	0.16**
Neg Peer Infl T1					−0.10**	−0.06*	0.13**	0.51**
Pos Aff T2						0.26**	−0.42**	−0.13**
Peer Conn T2							−0.10**	−0.11**
Neg Aff T2								0.14**
Mean	3.13	4.20	1.62	1.97	3.05	4.21	1.63	1.91
Standard deviation	0.78	0.53	0.70	0.90	0.81	0.53	0.73	0.90

*Peer Conn* Peer Connectedness, *Neg Peer Infl* Negative Peer Influences, *Pos Aff* Positive Affect, *Neg Aff* Negative Affect

*p<0.05; **p<0.01

affect and peer connectedness, and relatively low negative affect and negative peer influences. Directions of correlations were all in the expected directions.

Tests of hypotheses

A series of longitudinal observed variable path models were constructed and examined in Amos 20 (Arbuckle 2011). First, a two variable path model involving peer connectedness and positive affect was constructed to test hypothesis 1 (peer connectedness would predict an increase in positive affect) and hypothesis 2 (positive affect would predict an increase in peer connectedness). Second, a two variable path model involving negative peer influences and negative affect was constructed to test hypothesis 3 (negative peer influences would predict an increase in negative affect) and hypothesis 4 (negative affect would predict an increase in negative peer influences). And last, all four variables were included in a single path model to examine how the positive and negative variables affected each other over time. Since all path models involved stability relationships over time (e.g., positive affect at T1 predicting positive affect at T2, and so forth), the obtained cross-lag relationships indicated *change* in a variable over time.

Fig. 1 Longitudinal relationships between peer connectedness and positive affect over one year's time. *Note.* Numbers are standardized regression coefficients. ***$p < 0.001$; *$p < 0.05$
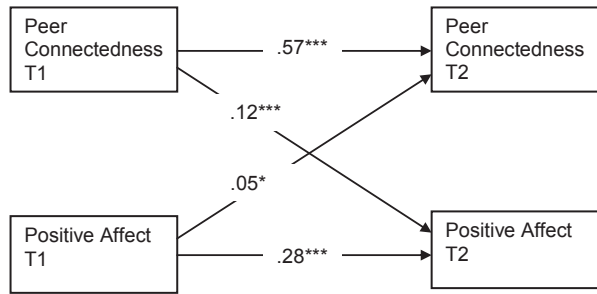
Two variable path model involving positive affect and peer connectedness Figure 1 depicts the results of this just identified path model. The cross-lag paths provide findings that support both hypotheses 1 and 2. In particular, for hypothesis 1, the beta of .12, $p = 0.0002$, between peer connectedness at T1 and positive affect at T2 suggests that individuals who reported higher peer connectedness at T1 reported an increase in positive affect 1 year later. And for hypothesis 2, the beta, $\beta = 0.05$, $p = 0.037$, suggests that individuals who reported higher positive affect at T1 reported an increase in peer connectedness one year later. An equality constraint test, $\chi^2(1) = 15.5$, $p = 0.0003$, indicated that the first relationship was significantly stronger than the second relationship.

Two variable path model involving negative affect and negative peer influences Support was found in this model (see Fig. 2) for both hypotheses 3 and 4. In particular, the relationship between negative peer influences at T1 and negative affect at T2, $\beta = 0.07$, $p = 0.016$, provided support for hypothesis 3, and the beta for the reverse relationship, $\beta = 0.07$, $p = 0.011$, provided support for hypothesis 4. The equality constraint analysis, not surprisingly, indicated about equal strength of these two cross-lag relationships.

Four variable path model involving all variables Although the two previous path models provided support for the initial hypotheses, they provided focused and narrow examinations of these dyads of variables. Models that involve more variables approximate the complexity of real life, so these focused analyses may not provide

Fig. 2 Longitudinal relationships between negative peer influences and negative affect over one year's time. *Note.* Numbers are standardized regression coefficients. ***$p < 0.001$; **$p < 0.01$
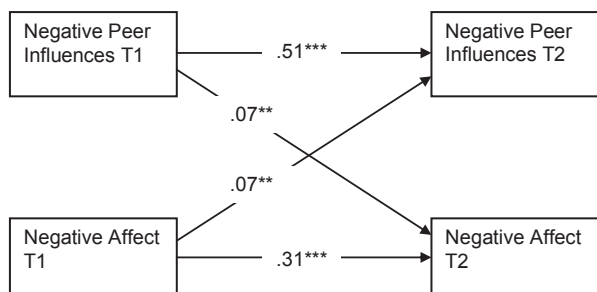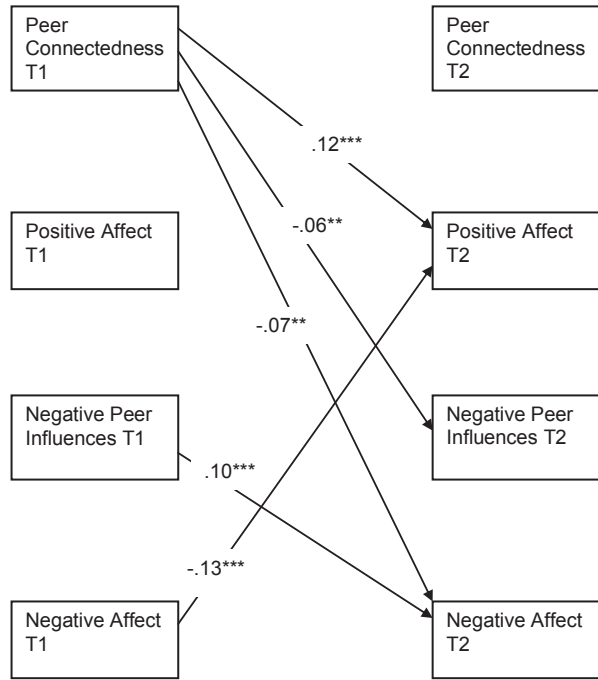
Fig. 3 Longitudinal relationships among all four variables over one year's time. *Note.* The four stability coefficients are not reported in this model to enhance readability; all were statistically significant, βs= 0.27 to 0.58, *p*s <0.001. Numbers are standardized regression coefficients. ***p* < 0.001; **p* < 0.01

a veridical picture of how these variables behave within the context of simultaneous positive and negative influences. To this end, a path model with all four variables was constructed to determine whether the previously obtained relationships would hold in the case of multiple variables.

A fully saturated model was initially tested, and following Kline (1998), non-significant paths were deleted until only significant paths remained. In this fashion, a good fitting model was obtained that included five significant cross-lag paths (see Fig. 3). Importantly, two of the previously identified four cross-lag paths proved to be significant in this more stringent model: (1) from peer connectedness to positive affect, β=0.12, *p*=0.0002, and (2) from negative peer influences to negative affect, β=0.10, *p*=0.0009. The two other previously identified paths, which were relatively weak in Figs. 1 and 2 (i.e., 0.05 and 0.07), were *not* retained in the present model, presumably because of shared variance with other variables.

In addition, two other significant cross-lag paths were identified that we would deem are theoretically sensible: (1) peer connectedness predicted a decrease in negative peer influences, β=−0.06, *p*=0.015, and (2) peer connectedness predicted a decrease in negative affect, β=−0.07, *p*=0.011. One last finding concerned the relationship between positive and negative affect: negative affect at T1 predicted a decrease in positive affect at T2, β=−0.13, *p*=0.0001. It is interesting to note that the reverse path was not identified as statistically significant.

No prediction was made concerning whether gender might moderate any of these obtained relationships because the literature rarely notes robust gender differ-

ences, but exploratory gender moderation analyses were performed in order to shed light on this possibility. An equality constraint between the two gender groups was imposed one at a time on the nine relationships identified in Fig. 3 to determine if model fit significantly worsened in any case. All chi-square analyses yielded non-significance, so we can conclude that the obtained relationships were manifested similarly for boys and girls.

Exploratory Longitudinal Moderation Analyses

In addition to these planned analyses, a set of moderation analyses were performed to identify more subtle relationships among these variables over time. Two-way interaction terms were created among all four T1 variables, and were entered simultaneously in a hierarchical regression after all of the T1 variables. Three significant two-way interactions were identified, one each for the dependent variables of T2 peer connectedness, T2 negative peer influences, and T2 negative affect.

Figure 4 depicts the finding that negative peer influences significantly moderated the stability of peer connectedness over time. The steepest slope was obtained for individuals reporting low negative peer influences, and this pattern (termed a "blunter" by Jose 2013) indicates that the greatest stability of peer connectedness occurred for individuals who did not find themselves in situations where they felt coerced to misbehave by their peers.

The next figure (Fig. 5) shows that the interaction of positive and negative affect differentially predicted changes in negative peer influences over time. In particular, those individuals who reported high positive affect in conjunction with low negative affect reported the lowest level of negative peer influences at T2. Although a main effect path from positive affect at T1 to negative peer influences at T2 was not obtained, we did identify this more complicated moderation result. In essence,

Fig. 4 Stability of peer connectedness moderated by negative peer influences at T1. *Note. Peer Conn* Peer Connectedness; *Neg Peer* Negative Peer Influences
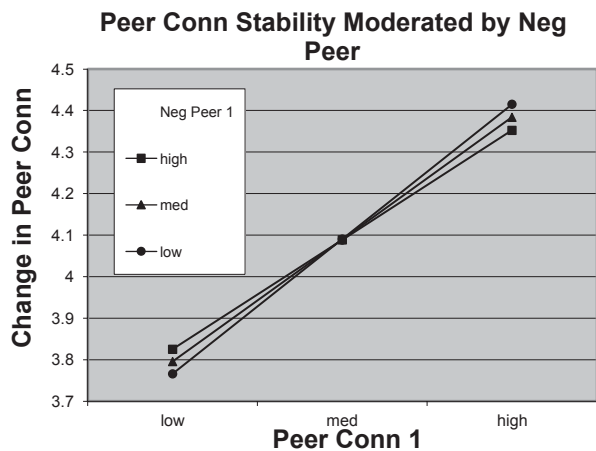
Fig. 5 The relationship
between negative affect at
T1 and residualized negative
peer influences moderated
by positive affect at T1.
Note. *Pos Aff* Positive Affect;
Neg Aff Negative Affect;
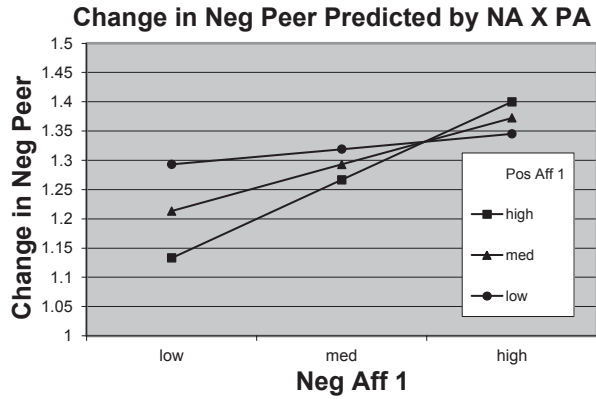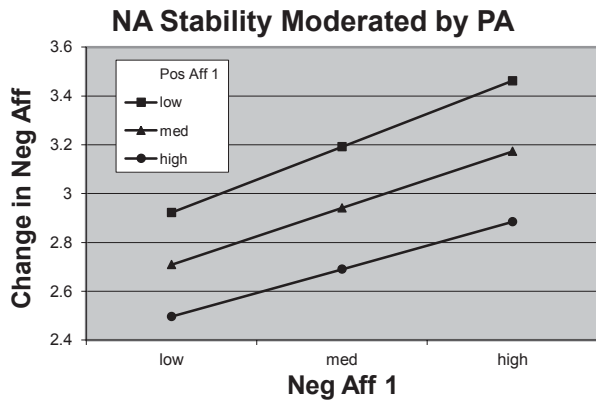*Neg Peer* Negative Peer
Influences

Fig. 6 The stability of
negative affect moderated by
positive affect at T1. *Note*.
Pos Aff Positive Affect; *Neg
Aff* Negative Affect

individuals who experienced positive affect at T1 were protected ("buffered") from
the tendency for negative affect at T1 to lead to an increase in negative peer influ-
ences at T2.

And last, Fig. 6 depicts the two-way interaction of positive and negative affect
predicting changes in negative affect over time. Positive affect, as in Fig. 5, seemed
to function as a buffer against the stability of negative affect over time. Although
positive affect did not exhibit a main effect protective factor against negative af-
fect (i.e., no significant cross-lag relationships), we did find this moderation result
which suggests that individuals who experienced higher positive affect at T1 were
protected to some degree against subsequent negative affect.

Discussion

The chief questions of the present study were: (1) would peer connectedness predict an increase in positive affect over time? and (2) would negative peer influences predict an increase in negative affect over time? The answers to both questions were found to be in the affirmative. The reverse relationships were also explored, and despite initial support for the expectations that happy individuals would manifest an increase in peer connectedness and that unhappy individuals would show an increase in negative peer influences, neither hypothesis was supported in the final path model. The related expectations that peer connectedness might reduce negative affect and negative peer influences, and that negative peer influences might reduce positive affect and peer connectedness were partially supported: the former predictions were supported but the latter ones were not. And last, exploratory longitudinal moderation analyses yielded several intriguing findings suggesting that positive affect might function as a protective factor.

Peer connectedness, as defined in the present study, captured several dimensions of positive peer relations: how well the individual got on with peers, satisfaction with the number of close friends, and degree of social support from friends and peers. Other researchers have noted that adolescents who report high levels of peer connectedness also report higher positive outcomes (e.g., Adams 1988; Demir et al. 2013; McGraw et al. 2008; McGrath and Noble 2007), and this relationship makes eminent sense. What is notable in the present case is that adolescents' reports of peer connectedness at T1 predicted a significant increase in positive affect at T2 1 year later in a residualized path model. In other words, peer connectedness status at T1 predicted *an increase in happiness* 1 year later, after removing the variance due to the stability of happiness. The size of the effect was relatively modest ($\beta=0.12$, $p<0.002$), as is usually the case in cross-lag relationships, but it is consistent in size with estimates cited by Lucas et al. (2008). Still, this result speaks to the power of peer connectedness to exert a noticeable positive influence on adolescents' lives.

Similarly, but in the opposite direction, adolescents' reports of negative peer influences at T1 significantly predicted an increase in negative affect 1 year later. The negative impact of coercive peer influences has been previously documented (e.g., Huefner and Ringle 2012; Mrug et al. 2012), but we are unaware of any longitudinal research that shows its impact on negative affect over 1 year's time. In essence, the present result suggests that adolescents who experience high levels of negative peer influences at one point in time become sadder and more depressed one year later. Similar to the finding for peer connectedness and happiness, this finding makes intuitive sense, but future work will be needed to determine the nature of the mediational pathways between these two types of peer influences and the outcomes of valenced affect.

It is noteworthy that the two focused two-variable path models (Figs. 1 and 2) provided initial support for the 'affect predicts quality of friendship' models. On the positive side, we found a weak relationship between positive affect and peer connectedness in Fig. 1 ($\beta=0.05$) that supported the 'happiness leads to success'

hypothesis of Lyubomirsky et al. (2005). A similar result was obtained for the path from negative affect to negative peer influences. However, these weak relationships disappeared when we considered all four variables simultaneously in Fig. 3. In sum, these intuitively appealing linkages seem to be weak in strength, and may not be replicable when other contextual factors are taken into account. On the basis of the results presented in Fig. 3, we would argue that merely being happy does not lead to an increase in peer connectedness, nor does being unhappy lead to an increase in negative peer influences. We would argue that the pathways from general affective orientation (PA and NA) to specific behavioural outcomes are many and varied, and the empirical findings obtained here suggest that these orientations may be sufficient but not necessary in causing the particular friendship outcomes studied here. In other words, merely experiencing positive affect in a general sense may not inexorably predict and lead to better friendships because other inputs and contexts (e.g., social skills and opportunity) are necessary.

Nevertheless, the longitudinal moderation results provided support for the view that positive affect may function as a buffer against negative outcomes. Positive affect proved not to be a significant main effect predictor of any T2 variable in Fig. 3, and this finding suggests that positive affect may be a transitory mood outcome, not a trigger of temporally distant (i.e., 1 year later) emotional states. However, Figs. 5 and 6 showed that positive affect buffered against the outcomes of negative peer influences and negative affect over time. Positive affect is thought to be a protective factor against negative outcomes (e.g., Fredrickson's 'broaden-and-build' theory 2003), and the present results would seem to be congruent with this idea. The broaden-and-build theory suggests that frequent and intense experience of positive affect has the effect of 'broadening' one's emotional landscape and 'building' psychological resources, and in this fashion the individual constructs a more resilient stance against stressful events and counterproductive cognitive processes (e.g., rumination). A central tenet of positive psychology is that positive experiences can counteract the occurrence and longevity of negative affect and experiences (Seligman and Csikszentmihalyi 2000), and I would argue that the present findings are consistent with this view.

Limitations and future directions

Due to space limitations, only the moderator of gender was explored (and no differences were found), but it is possible that the obtained relationships might vary by age, cognitive biases, personality traits, and other variables. In addition, as noted above, future research should identify mediators between peer relationships and affect. In particular, why do individuals who report higher peer connectedness end up happier over time? Potential mediators that may be usefully investigated are beneficial social support, companionship (sharing with others), and identity validation.

In the present study, affect was operationally defined from CES-D items, not, as is usually the case, from the PANAS measure. Future work should verify that these

operationalizations are similar. Further, affect was broadly classified into the 'positive' and 'negative' subgroups, therefore subtle distinctions between subtypes of affect (e.g., pride, joy, love, hope) were not linked with the two types of peer relationships studied here. It is possible, for example, that teenagers who experience high negative peer influences feel high depressive affect, which in turn leads to lowered positive affect such as decreased hope and joy. Figure 3 shows that negative peer influences predicted higher negative affect, which in turn predicted lower positive affect, but without more specification of subtypes of affect, we cannot be certain of these possible mediational pathways.

It should be noted that judgments about peer relationships in this study were made about the sum or average of all peer relationships, not, for example, about a single best friendship as is sometimes done. Sometimes empirical results vary depending on whether one focuses on a young person's best friendship (Adams et al. 2011) as opposed to the broader and more general peer network, and this limitation should be noted in reading the present results.

Conclusions

Adolescents who experience peer connectedness seem to benefit by becoming happier. In contrast, adolescents who experience negative peer influences accrue the deleterious outcome of becoming more depressed. Efforts to improve psychological outcomes for adolescents should minimize coercive peer influences and maximize positive peer relatedness. In addition, some evidence was obtained here that positive affect buffers against negative peer influences and negative affect, and therefore, interventions designed to increase adolescents' levels of happiness (e.g., by increasing gratitude, Froh et al. 2010) might also serve to protect them from adverse psychological outcomes.

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Friendship, Needs Satisfaction, and Happiness Among College Students in France and Lebanon

Melikşah Demir, Frédérique Cuisinier and Brigitte Khoury

Friendship is an important personal relationship in the lives and social networks of people across all walks of life in different cultures. Not surprisingly, friendship has been proposed to play an essential role in the happiness of individuals (Argyle 2001; Baumeister and Leary 1995). Consistent with past theoretical arguments, friendship emerged as a theme in every qualitative study trying to understand factors related to happiness in different cultures (Caunt et al. 2013a; Chaplin 2009; Sotgiu et al. 2011; Tafarodi et al. 2012). Also, decades of empirical research have shown that friendship experiences (number of friends, support, and overall quality) are positively associated with happiness in different age groups across cultures (Brannan et al. 2013; Chan and Lee 2006; Demir et al. 2013a; Holder and Coleman 2009; Lu 1999; Pilkington et al. 2012; Requena 1995; Sarriera et al. 2012; Uusitalo-Malmivaara 2012). Overall, consistent evidence unquestionably suggest that friendship is related to happiness across cultures. Yet, empirical knowledge explaining the friendship-happiness association is limited (Demir et al. 2014). The study reported in this chapter addressed this limitation by testing satisfaction of basic psychological needs (Deci and Ryan 2000) in the friendship as the mediator of the relationship between friendship quality and happiness among college students in France and Lebanon, cultures considered individualistic and collectivistic, respectively (Hofstede 2001).

M. Demir (✉)
Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, USA
e-mail: Meliksah.Demir@nau.edu

F. Cuisinier
Paris West University, France

B. Khoury
American University of Beirut Medical Center, Beirut, Lebanon

Friendship

Friendship is a voluntary relationship between two individuals that serves multiple functions (companionship, intimacy, support) (Hays 1988). Decades of empirical research in different disciplines have not only documented the universality of friendships but also highlighted the personal choice in developing friendships across cultures (Argyle and Henderson 1984; Bell and Coleman 1999; Brain 1976; Cohen 1961; Chen et al. 2006; Eisenstadt 1956; Schneider 2000). This line of research also showed that friendships usually involve same-sex peers in different cultures (Demir and Özdemir 2010; Laursen and Bukowski 1997; Sheets and Lugar 2005). Thus, we focused on same-sex friendships to provide comparable data for future research. Finally, as explained above, decades of cross-cultural research has shown that having a friend, number of friends, and friendship experiences in general (e.g., overall quality) are positively related to happiness across different cultures (e.g., Brannan et al. 2013; see Demir et al. 2013b for a review). Accordingly, we predicted that friendship quality would be positively associated with happiness among college students in both cultures.

Although the friendship-happiness association has been well established in the literature, less is known about the mediators of this association, especially in different cultures. Specifically, what might explain how or why friendship experiences are related happiness? Investigation of the mediators of this association would not only help us move beyond the mere documentation of this link but also has the potential to offer unique ways elucidating the robust relationship between friendship and happiness (Demir et al. 2013b). The current chapter gave heed to this call by testing satisfaction of basic psychological needs as the mediator of the association between friendship quality-happiness among college students in France and Lebanon.

There were two reasons for testing the proposed model in these cultures. First, these two nations represent two different cultures and provide a unique context for testing the generalizability of the model. Specifically, empirical research suggests that France is an individualistic nation whereas Lebanon is a collectivistic nation (Ayyash-Abdo 2001; Hofstede 2001; Johnson et al. 2005; Oishi et al. 1999; Ting-Toomey 1991). Second, although past research has investigated friendship in different contexts (e.g., sports) in different age groups, and correlates of happiness in both cultures (Ayyash-Abdo and Alamuddin 2007; El-Hassan 2004; Moghnie and Kazarian 2012; Pinto et al. 1997; Scoffier et al. 2009, 2010), our knowledge about the friendship-happiness association and mediators of this link in France and Lebanon are limited.

Self-Determination Theory and Basic Needs Satisfaction

Self-determination theory (SDT, Deci and Ryan 2000) aims to explain the underlying reasons behind individual's behaviors and how they influence the psychosocial well-being of the person. Of the mini theories under SDT, *Basic needs theory*

focuses on three basic psychological needs and examines the link between people's satisfaction of these needs and social and psychological well-being. According to theory, relatedness, autonomy and competence are three universal, fundamental and innate basic human needs (Deci and Ryan 2000). Relatedness refers to feeling connected to and developing close relationships with others (Baumeister and Leary 1995; Ryan and Deci 2000). Autonomy refers to feelings of volition and involves initiating one's own actions (Deci and Ryan 1985). Finally, competence refers to feelings of efficacy and being capable (Deci 1975; Ryan and Deci 2000). Theory suggests that satisfaction of these needs in general or in relationships is associated with relationship quality and individual well-being (Deci and Ryan 2000). Empirical studies sampling American young adults provided support for these theoretical arguments (Deci et al. 2006; Hodgins et al. 1996; La Guardia et al. 2000; Patrick et al. 2007; Reis et al. 2000; Sheldon et al. 2001; Sheldon et al. 1996; Uysal et al. 2010). Of particular importance for the purposes of the present study, it has been documented that satisfaction of basic needs in close friendships was associated with attachment security to best friends, friendship quality, friendship satisfaction, and happiness (Deci et al. 2006; Demir and Özdemir 2010; Hodgins et al. 1996; La Guardia et al. 2000; Ryan et al. 2005).

One unique feature of the basic needs theory is its claims about the universality of these needs and their implications. According Deci and Ryan (2000), these three needs are "universal, innate and essential for well-being" (p. 232). Even though the expression and experience of these needs might differ across relationships and cultures, Deci and Ryan uphold that satisfaction of these needs and their role in the psychosocial well-being of individuals is universal. Supporting the theoretical arguments, empirical research showed that these needs, along with self-esteem, were ranked among the top four basic needs and predicted happiness among American and South Korean young adults (Sheldon et al. 2001). Moreover, cross-cultural research and studies in collectivistic cultures have shown that satisfaction of basic psychological needs in general or in specific relationships (e.g., parent-child) was positively associated with a variety of relationship (e.g., quality) and well-being (e.g., happiness) indices (Chirkov and Ryan 2001; Chirkov et al. 2005; Deci et al. 2006; Sheldon et al. 2009; Özen et al. 2011; Vansteenkiste et al. 2006). This was reported for friendships as well (Deci et al. 2006; Demir and Özdemir 2010; Milyavskaya and Kestner 2011; Özen et al. 2011). In light of past empirical research, we predicted that satisfaction of basic psychological needs in the friendship would be positively related to friendship quality and happiness among college students in France and Lebanon.

The Proposed Model

As reviewed above, empirical research in the last two decades has convincingly documented that friendship, needs satisfaction, and happiness are positively related in different cultures. Accordingly, we propose that satisfaction of basic psychological

needs in the friendship mediates the association between friendship quality and happiness. Specifically, we believe that experiencing a positive friendship that includes higher levels of support, intimacy, and companionship would facilitate and promote the satisfaction of basic psychological needs in the relationship, which in turn, influences happiness. For example, receiving support from a same-sex friend in times of need, self-validating comments about one's skills or achievements, and feeling comfortable when sharing intimate ideas or making suggestions for an activity might signal the individual that her needs of autonomy, competence, and relatedness are met in the relationship. This feeling in turn might promote individual happiness.

Past research supported the mediating role of needs satisfaction in explaining the relationship between attachment security and well-being (La Guardia et al. 2000; Wei et al. 2005). Of particular importance, Demir and Özdemir (2010) have shown that satisfaction of basic needs in the best friendship explained the relationship between friendship quality and happiness among American young adults, a finding supported for multiple close friendships. Considering past research showing that friendship quality and needs satisfaction in the relationship are positively associated with happiness in different cultures, we predicted that needs satisfaction in same-sex best friendships would mediate the relationship between friendship and happiness among college students in both cultures. Although this model is consistent with past theoretical and empirical work, we also tested another model suggesting that friendship quality is the mediator between needs satisfaction and happiness. This is because the association between friendship quality and needs satisfaction could be bidirectional (Blais et al. 1990; Deci et al. 2006; Demir and Özdemir 2010; La Guardia et al. 2000; Milyavskaya and Kestner 2011).

Method

The French sample consisted of 259 (233 females) college students from the Paris West University Nanterre La Défense (M_{age} = 21.0, SD = 1.77: ranging from 18–29 years). The Lebanese sample (n = 191; 113 females) was recruited from the American University of Beirut (M_{age} = 18.95, SD = 1.06: ranging from 18–22 years). In both cultures, volunteers for the study participated in the study. The volunteers completed the questionnaires in French in France and in English in Lebanon.

The quality of the same-sex best friendships of the participants was assessed with the McGill Friendship Questionnaire-Friend's Functions scale (MFQ-FF; Mendelson and Aboud 1999). This scale, specifically designed to assess friendship among young adults, measures six different functions (e.g., intimacy) with five items each on a nine-point scale. A composite friendship quality score was created by taking the mean of 30 items, where higher scores indicate higher levels of relationship quality (α = 0.91, 0.92 in the French and Lebanese samples, respectively).

Satisfaction of basic psychological needs in same-sex friendships was assessed with the Need Satisfaction Scale (La Guardia et. al. 2000). This scale assesses autonomy, competence, and relatedness needs satisfaction in the relationship with three items each, and rated on a 7-point scale (*1 = not at all true, 7 = very true*). In order to be consistent with past research (Deci et al. 2006; Demir and Özdemir 2010), an overall needs satisfaction score was created with higher scores indicating higher levels of needs satisfaction in the friendship (α = 0.73, 0.75 in the French and Lebanese samples, respectively).

Happiness was assessed with the Satisfaction With Life Scale (SWLS; Diener et al. 1985) and Positive and Negative Affect Schedule (PANAS) (Watson et al. 1988). These commonly used measures assess the cognitive and affective components of happiness (Pavot and Diener 2013) and have been validated in French speaking samples (Blais et al. 1989; Gaudreau et al. 2006). Specifically, SWLS measures the cognitive evaluations of one's life with five items rated on a seven-point scale (*1 = strongly disagree, 7 = strongly agree*). The mean of the five items was used obtain a satisfaction with life composite score where higher scores indicate higher levels of life satisfaction (α = 0.78, 0.80 in the French and Lebanese samples, respectively). PANAS assesses the affective component of happiness and consists of 10 mood states for positive affect (PA) (e.g. attentive) and 10 for negative affect (NA) (e.g. hostile). In the current study, participants were asked to indicate how frequently they experience each mood in general on a five-point scale (*1 = very slightly or not at all, 5 = extremely*). Composite PA and NA scores were computed by taking the mean of the respective items where higher scores indicate greater levels of the relevant affect. The internal consistencies of the composite PA and NA scores in the French and Lebanese samples were acceptable (αs = 0.58–0.74; and 0.70–0.72, respectively).

In light of past research suggesting that the three components of happiness (SWLS, PA, NA) represent a higher order factor (Linley et al. 2009) and to simplify the presentation of happiness, an aggregate happiness score was created. Specifically, the standardized scores of NA were subtracted from the sum of the standardized PA and SWLS scores. This practice has been frequently employed in past research (e.g., Demir 2010; Sheldon and Hoon 2007).

As explained above, the scales were administered in English in Lebanon and in French in France. The happiness measures were successfully adapted into French in past research (Blais et al. 1989; Gaudreau et al. 2006). As for the friendship measures, the back-translation process was employed that addressed not only the conceptual but also content equivalence of the measures (Alonso-Arbiol et al. 2007; Flaherty et al. 1988). Revisions and corrections were made to address differences between the original and back-translated versions (Church 2001). Measurement equivalence is a key issue in cross-cultural research (Byrne and Watkins 2003; Tran 2009). This has been reported for the friendship measures in both samples (please see Demir 2013).

Results

Descriptive statistics and correlations between the study variables across the two samples are reported in Table 1. Analyses comparing the two cultures revealed three significant findings. French participants reported higher levels of needs satisfaction in their same-sex best friendships when compared to Lebanese participants (t (448)=2.0, $p<0.05$; $d=0.18$). As for the happiness measures, Lebanese participants, when compared to their French peers, reported not only higher levels of PA (t (448)=−7.3, $p<.01$; $d=0.69$) but also NA (t (448)=−4.3, $p<.01$; $d=0.40$). As seen in the table, friendship quality, needs satisfaction, and the composite happiness score were positively associated with each other in both cultures, providing support to our predictions. Importantly, the correlations did not significantly differ across the cultures. Finally, gender was related to the friendship variables in the Lebanese sample and it was controlled for the in the following analyses.

The bootstrapping method (Preacher and Hayes 2008) was used to test the proposed model. The superiority of this method over others in testing mediational models (e.g., higher levels of statistical power) has been reported (MacKinnon et al. 2002; Preacher and Hayes 2004; Shrout and Bolger 2002). For instance, this procedure estimates confidence intervals for the indirect effects while repeatedly sampling, with replacement, from the dataset (Preacher and Hayes 2004). Following the recommendations of Mallinckrodt, Abraham, Wei, and Russell (2006) we have estimated 10,000 bootstrap samples. The model would be supported only when the estimates of the 95% confidence intervals do not include zero (MacKinnon et al. 2002; Preacher and Hayes 2008). We also reported the findings based on Sobel's test for readers who might not be familiar with the bootstrapping method.

The analyses revealed that needs satisfaction mediated the association between friendship quality and happiness not only in France (M effect=0.54, SE effect=0.11, 95% CI [0.35, 0.76]) but also in Lebanon (M effect=0.35, SE effect=0.10, 95% CI [0.15, 0.52]). Results from Sobel tests were consistent with the findings obtained with the bootstrapping method (France: $z=4.83$, $p<0.001$; Lebanon: $z=3.30$, $p<0.001$). Although these findings were consistent with our predictions, we conducted additional analyses to further establish confidence in the proposed model by testing an alternative model in which friendship quality was tested as the mediator. Results showed that friendship quality did not mediate the needs satisfaction-happiness association in either culture (France: M effect=−0.06, SE effect=0.13, 95% CI [−0.33, 0.18]; Sobel test: $z=1.08$, $p=0.28$); Lebanon: M effect=0.18, SE effect=0.14, 95% CI [−0.11, 0.46]; Sobel test: $z=0.48$, $p=0.63$).

Table 1 Means, standard deviations, and correlations between the study variables in France and Lebanon

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	France		Lebanon	
								M	SD	M	SD
1. Gender	—	0.09	−0.01	−0.06	0.05	0.10	−0.01	—	—	—	—
2. Friendship quality	0.31**	—	0.61**	0.12*	−0.07	0.19**	0.20**	6.37	0.84	6.31	1.03
3. Needs satisfaction	0.20**	0.59**	—	0.19**	−0.26**	0.25**	0.37**	5.88	0.70	5.74	0.83
4. Positive affect	−0.06	0.19*	0.21**	—	0.10	0.23**	0.59**	3.19	0.51	3.55	0.53
5. Negative affect	0.03	−0.08	−0.21**	−0.06	—	−0.22**	−0.58**	2.07	0.66	2.33	0.58
6. Satisfaction with life	0.02	0.28**	0.30**	0.27**	−0.33**	—	0.75**	4.39	1.14	4.37	1.20
7. Happiness	−0.03	0.27**	0.35**	0.64**	−0.67**	0.77**	—	0.00	1.92	0.05	2.06

Correlations for French ($n=259$) are reported above the diagonal, Lebanon ($n=191$) below the diagonal
*$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$

Discussion

Decades of empirical research leave no doubt that friendship quality is associated with happiness across cultures (Demir et al. 2013b). Yet, our understanding of the mediators that explains this link was limited. The study reported in this chapter addressed this gap in the literature by showing that satisfaction of basic psychological needs in a same-sex friendship explained why friendship was related to happiness among college students in France and Lebanon. Finding support for this model while eliminating alternative explanations across two different cultures even when college students had different levels of needs satisfaction and happiness is notable. Overall, the results were consistent with past research (Demir and Özdemir 2010) and suggest that needs satisfaction in the friendship might be a robust mediator of the friendship quality-happiness association across cultures. In other words, it could be that positive same-sex friendship experiences create a context in which basic needs are satisfied which in turn influences happiness among individuals in different cultures.

Although the study reported in this chapter had addressed an important gap in the literature by testing and finding support for a model based on theory in two different cultures, there are at least two ways to enhance our understanding of the friendship-happiness association in different cultures. First, it is well established that college students and emerging adults in different cultures successfully establish and maintain platonic friendships with the opposite sex (Cheung and McBride-Cheung 2007; Demir and Doğan 2013; Sheets and Lugar 2005); and these friendships play a key role in the lives and well-being of young adults (Procsal et al. this volume). Accordingly, it is important to investigate whether the model would be generalizable to cross-sex friendships. Second, investigation of other theoretically identified mediators that might explain the friendship-happiness association would be important. Past research provides some important directions (Demir et al. 2014). For instance, a recent study among American young adults has shown that personal sense of uniqueness, conceptualized from a humanistic perspective (Şimşek and Yalınçetin 2010), mediated the friendship-happiness association (Demir et al. 2013c). Future research has the potential to test the generalizability of this model to other cultures.

Limitations

Finding support for a mediational model consistent with theory and past research in two different cultures is valuable. Yet, the limitations of the study should be acknowledged. First, we have relied on convenience samples in both cultures. Reliance on college students, although common in cross-cultural research, suggests that our findings might not represent the populations studied in the respective cultures and others in different age groups, a valid concern periodically highlighted in the literature (e.g., Reynolds 2010). Although past research was consistent with this

idea (e.g., Peterson 2001), recent studies suggest that the characteristics and experiences of college students (e.g. personality, drug use) are not very different from community adults (e.g., Wiecko 2010). Accordingly, and in light of past research showing that friendship is related to happiness in different age groups in different cultures (e.g., Lu 1999), we would expect to find support for the model in different age groups. Second, we had more women than men in our samples, a pattern consistent with past research showing that females are more likely volunteer for a study on same-sex friendship than males (Lewis et al. 1989; Orthel and Demir 2011). Also, it is important to take into account that the trend that more women than men take psychology courses, especially in France, who usually make up the participation pools for empirical research. Although we have controlled for this in our analyses, and past research has shown that men and women equally benefit from their friendships (Demir and Davidson 2013), this limits the generalizability of the findings. Future research should test the generalizability of the model to both sexes in different cultures. Finally, the data on friendship experiences and happiness were gathered concurrently. As a result, the findings should be interpreted with caution since the design of our study does not allow causal explanations. Although the findings were consistent with theory and past research, and alternative explanations were eliminated, longitudinal research is needed to establish confidence in the findings obtained in this current investigation.

Conclusion

Decades of empirical research have clearly established that friendship experiences are reliable correlates of happiness across cultures. However, empirical knowledge explaining why this association exists has been limited. The cross-cultural study reported in this chapter addressed this gap in the literature by showing that satisfaction of basic psychological needs in a same-sex friendship explained why friendship quality was related to happiness among college students in France and Lebanon. Future research should move beyond the mere documentation of the friendship-happiness link by investigating other theoretically relevant mediators and moderators of the association with varied methods in different cultures. This line of research has the potential to address some of major the limitations (Lucas and Dyrenforth 2006) and concerns (Arnett 2008) of the literature while making meaningful contributions to theory and our understanding the relationship between friendship and happiness.

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I am so Happy 'Cause my Best Friend is There for me When Things go Right: Friendship and Happiness Among Emerging Adults in Algeria and Slovakia

Melikşah Demir, Mustapha Achoui and Jaromir Šimonek

What do individuals do when they experience a positive event in their lives? This important question has only recently been the focus of empirical research. This growing literature has documented that emerging adults overwhelmingly share their positive experiences with their same-sex best friends (Derlega et al. 2011). This is referred to as capitalization and defined as "the process of informing another person about the occurrence of a personal positive event and thereby deriving additional benefit from it" (Gable et al. 2004, p. 228). This process is related to happiness even when taking the significance of the positive event into account (Langston 1994). Gable and her colleagues highlighted the importance of the perceived responses during this process, and showed that perceiving the responses of the disclosee as more positive (enthusiastic) and less negative (ignoring the event) is associated with happiness (Gable et al. 2006; Gable and Reis 2001; Gable et al. 2004; Gable and Reis 2010). Although the role of the predominance of perceived positive responses over negative ones in happiness has been established (e.g., Gable and Reis 2010), our knowledge about the mechanisms that explain this association is limited. The study reported in this chapter addressed this gap by testing a model that posits that friendship quality explains why more positive and less negative perceived responses to capitalization

M. Demir (✉)
Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, AZ, USA
e-mail: Meliksah.Demir@nau.edu

M. Achoui
Arab Open University, Kuwait, Kuwait

J. Šimonek
Constantine The Philosopher University in Nitra, Nitra, Slovakia

attempts are associated with happiness among emerging adults in Algeria and Slovakia. In the following sections, we first provide information about the cultures in which the model was tested and then present the constructs of the study.

Information About Algeria and Slovakia

The proposed model was tested in Algeria and Slovakia. The reasons for testing the model in these cultures are twofold. First, Algeria and Slovakia represent two different cultures. In Hofstede's (2001) 53-nation study Slovakia received a score of 52, above the mean of 43, on the individualism-collectivism continuum (lower scores indicate collectivism) suggesting that Slovakia is an individualistic society. Although no score was assigned to Algeria in Hoftstede's study, the overall score for West African countries (20), the score for Morocco (25), a neighboring country with a similar history and culture, and recent research (e.g., Ralston et al. 2012) suggest that Algeria is a collectivistic society. Second, with the exception of a few studies addressing friendship, happiness, or values (Cheng et al. 2011; Page et al. 2007; Tiliouine & Belgoumidi 2009), the empirical knowledge regarding the friendship-happiness association in these two nations is limited.

Recent research has convincingly shown that emerging adulthood, a new life span period proposed by Arnett (2000), is also observed in Europe (Douglass 2007; Macek et al. 2007; Nelson 2009). This is also evident in Slovakia (Machacek 1998; Piscova 2002). As for Algeria, although there are not any studies directly on the topic, a few indicators suggest that it is possible to consider college students as emerging adults. For instance, Algeria experienced significant social and economic changes in the last decade (Aghrout and Bougherira 2004). The country is heavily invested in higher education with increasing number of students enrolling at universities (Office National des Statistiques 2012), where the rates are higher for females (Jensen and Arnett 2012; Sutton and Zaimeche 2004). Also, consistent with the trends reported in the U.S. and other Western European countries, the average age of marriage has risen for both sexes (Sutton and Zaimeche 2004). Finally, not only sub-Saharan Africa (Nsamenang 2002) but also Northern Africa have been experiencing increased exposure to globalization (e.g., Aghrout and Bougherira 2004).

Friendship

Friendship is a voluntary interdependence between two individuals that involves the experience and satisfaction of various relationship features (e.g., intimacy) to varying degrees (Hays 1988; Weiss 1974). Four points about this precious bond are important to highlight. First, friendship is a universal experience and majority of cultures around the world accentuate the voluntary nature of friendship (Bell and Coleman 1999; Cohen 1961; Chen et al. 2006; Eisenstadt 1956; Jacobson 1974; Schneider 2000). Not surprisingly, a word across all cultures and languages

exist to "describe a close relationship established outside the narrow family context" (Krappman 1996, p. 24). For instance, priateľstvo is the word for friendship in Slovakia. Moreover, priatel refers to a male friend and priateľka denote a female friend. In Algeria, the words *sahbi* and *sahabti* are used to refer to same- and cross-sex friends, respectively. Second, theory and empirical research suggest that best friendships in different cultures usually involve same-sex peers (Demir and Özdemir 2010; Laursen and Bukowski 1997; Richey and Richey 1980; Sheets and Lugar 2005). Although emerging adults develop and maintain cross-sex friendships in different cultures (e.g., Demir and Doğan 2013; Monsour 2002; Yum and Hara 2005), the current study focused on same-sex best friends to be consistent with the past literature. Third, while past research has examined a variety of indices related to friendship (number of friends, friendship satisfaction), we believe that a theoretically grounded perspective should be employed when measuring friendship experiences, especially in cross-cultural research. Assessing the number of friends one claims to have or satisfaction with the friendship does not provide information about how that friendship is experienced. Thus, we focused on friendship quality that captures the satisfaction of various theoretically identified features (e.g., companionship, help, emotional security) in the friendship (Bukowski et al. 1994, Demir and Weitekamp 2007; Mendelson and Aboud 1999). Fourth, decades of empirical research have documented that satisfaction with friends, number of friends, and friendship quality are positively associated with happiness in different cultures (Argyle 2001; Camfield et al. 2009; Chan and Lee 2006; Cheng and Furnham 2002; Demir and Weitekamp 2007; Diener and Diener 1995; Lu 1999; Requena 1995).

There is no doubt that individuals experience their friendships in different ways across cultures (Hruschka 2010; Rybak and McAndrew 2006; Searle-White 1996). Regardless of these differences, one of the implicit and universal assumptions about friendship pertains to the sharing of successes and accomplishments (Argyle and Henderson 1984; Cohen 1961; Derlega et al. 2011; Hays 1988; Jacobson 1974). The current study investigated how the perceived responses from a same-sex friend following the disclosure of a positive event are related to psychosocial well-being.

Capitalization, Perceived Responses to Capitalization Attempts, and Well-being

Decades of research have examined how individuals cope with negative and stressful experiences. This line of research has shown that individuals engage in a variety of coping styles (Beasley et al. 2003; Carver et al. 1989; Masten 1994). One coping strategy involves seeking support from significant others. A large body of literature has shown that the support (e.g., emotional) individuals receive has the potential to buffer the negative impact of these events on well-being (Cohen and Wills 1985; Lepore 1992; Thoits 2011). Although this literature is very important with practical applications (e.g., Thoits 1995), it is essential to consider how individuals cope with positive events in their lives as well. This is because, whether mundane, rare, or significant, individuals do experience a variety of positive events in their lives.

Also, according to recent research, emerging adults, especially those who are not involved in a romantic relationship, share their positive experiences with their best friends (e.g., Derlega et al. 2011; Gable et al. 2004).

The process of sharing positive events with significant others, referred to as capitalization, has been shown to be associated with happiness even when controlling for the valence of the positive events (Gable et al. 2004; Langston 1994). This is because, for instance, sharing positive events with significant others involve re-experiencing the events that might contribute to their saliency in memory. Gable and her colleagues (Gable and Algoe 2010; Gable et al. 2006; Gable and Reis 2001; Gable et al. 2004; Gable and Reis 2010) have extended the earlier work on capitalization by highlighting the importance of the perceived responses to capitalization attempts (PRCA). Specifically, it has been argued that perceiving the friend's response as positive and supportive as opposed to demeaning has the potential to promote psychosocial well-being. This argument underlines the importance of understanding why responses from others matter and the need to classify various responses one might receive upon sharing a positive event.

Sharing mundane or significant experiences and achievements with a friend is a universal experience (e.g., Cohen 1961), which might not only enhance the closeness of the bond but also contribute to the continuity of the relationship. Yet, the perceived partner responsiveness to the self (PPR) model (Reis et al. 2004; Reis and Shaver 1988) suggests that this depends on how the responses of the friend are perceived by the discloser. Specifically, intimate exchanges have the potential to promote relationship well-being if they make the discloser feel that he/she is understood, validated and cared for (e.g., Reis and Shaver 1988). Considering the empirical evidence supporting this model (Laurenceau et al. 1998; Maisel et al. 2008; Reis et al. 2004), it is essential to categorize perceived responses to one's capitalization attempts and investigate their implications for psychosocial well-being.

Gable et al. (2004), relying on past research (Rusbult et al. 1991), identified four types of responses to capitalization attempts: active-constructive (AC), passive-constructive (PC), active-destructive (AD), and passive-destructive (PD). AC responses entail giving enthusiastic reactions to one's capitalization attempts. PC reactions include silent and modest support responses. AD responses degrade the importance of the event and highlight potential problems with the positive event. Finally, PD reactions involve not showing an interest and ignoring the event. Empirical research investigating PRCA in friendships and romantic couples has shown that AC responses were positively related to markers psychosocial well-being such relationship satisfaction, quality, and happiness, whereas the other three responses were negatively to those markers (Demir and Davidson 2013; Demir et al. 2013a; Gable et al. 2004). Accordingly, researchers typically create a composite score that indicates "more positive and less negative responses to capitalization attempts." (Gable et al. 2004, p. 234) when studying the associations of PRCA with well-being indices. This composite PRCA score has been shown to be positively associated with relationship satisfaction, quality, commitment, and various positive psychological well-being indices (e.g., happiness) in past research (Demir et al. 2013a; Gable and

Algoe 2010; Gable et al. 2006; Mattson et al. 2013). This composite score was used in the present study when investigating the association of capitalization with friendship quality and happiness.

The Model Tested

The positive association between PRCA and happiness has been established in the literature with a variety of different methods (e.g., diary studies, experimental). Yet, we do not know why this is the case. The current study proposes that friendship quality mediates the association between PRCA and happiness. In other words, it is posited that the perception of receiving positive and supportive responses as opposed to demeaning responses in a friendship upon sharing something positive would promote friendship quality, which in turn would predict happiness. This model is based on past theoretical and empirical literature. To start with, PRCA is hypothesized to be positively associated with relationship quality because recent research has shown that enthusiastic and supportive responses include all of the components of PPR (e.g., validation) to the discloser and predict relationship quality (Demir et al. 2013a; Gable and Algoe 2010). Specifically, we believe that individuals would perceive the friendship as higher in quality (e.g., more intimacy and emotional security) when the same-sex best friends' responses upon sharing a positive event (e.g., an accomplishment) are perceived as positive and supportive. Second, the PRCA-happiness association (e.g., Gable and Reis 2010), and the role of friendship quality in happiness across the lifespan in different cultures (see Demir et al. 2013b) are well-established. Thus, it is predicted that all of the study variables would be positively related to each other, and friendship quality would mediate the PRCA-happiness association in both cultures.

Method

The Algerian sample consisted of 282 (139 females) participants (M_{age}=20.79, SD=1.92: ranging from 18–25 years) attending Algier's University and Blida University. The Slovakian sample consisted of 349 (267 females) emerging adults (M_{age}=21.56, SD=1.64; ranging from 18–29 years) from the Constantine The Philosopher University in Nitra. A back-translation method was used when adapting the measures into Arabic and Slovak that took into account the conceptual and content equivalence of the measures (Alonso-Arbiol et al. 2007; Flaherty et al. 1988). Any differences between the original and back-translated version were discussed among the translators to achieve a mutually agreed wording of the items in the measures (Brislin 1980; Church 2001).

Measures

Perceived Responses to Capitalization Attempts A modified version of the perceived responses to capitalization attempts scale (PRCA) of Gable et al. (2004) was used in the present study. The original scale was developed to assess perceived responses in romantic relationships. In the current investigation, we adapted the scale to assess responses received from same-sex best friends. The PRCA consists of 12 items assessing four types of responses with three items each: active constructive (AC), passive constructive (PC), active destructive (AD), and passive destructive (PD). Participants were asked to rate each item on a 7-point scale (*1 = not at all true* through *7 = very true)* using the stem, "When I tell my same-sex best friend about something good that has happened to me…,". A mean of items assessing different types of responses was taken to create the subscale composite scores. A composite capitalization score was calculated by relying on Gable et al.'s (2004) method that represents higher perceived levels of positive versus negative responses to the sharing of positive events ($\alpha=0.76$, 0.71 in the Algerian and Slovakian samples, respectively).

Friendship Quality McGill Friendship Questionnaire-Friend's Functions (MFQ-FF; Mendelson and Aboud 1999) was used to assess the quality of same-sex best friendships. The MFQ-FF assesses six theoretically identified features (stimulating companionship, help, intimacy, reliable alliance, emotional security, and self-validation). Each feature is assessed with five items and rated on a 9-point scale from never (0) to always (8). The mean of 30 items was taken to form an overall same-sex best friendship quality composite score ($\alpha=0.92$, 0.93 in the Algerian and Slovakian samples, respectively). Higher scores indicate higher levels of friendship quality.

Happiness The Subjective Happiness Scale (SHS; Lyubomirsky and Lepper 1999) was used to assess happiness. The SHS follows a subjectivist approach to the assessment of happiness and measures the subjective assessment of the individual's global happiness with four items. After recoding the reverse-coded item, the mean of four items was used to create the composite Happiness score. The internal consistency of the overall scale was 0.70 in the Algerian sample and 0.75 in the Slovakian sample. Higher scores indicate higher levels of happiness.

Confirmatory Factor Analyses

Establishing measurement equivalence in cross-national research is crucial (Byrne and Watkins 2003; Tran 2009). In order to examine the factor structure of the scales used in the present study, confirmatory factor analyses (CFA) using LISREL 8 were conducted by using covariance matrix for each country. The fac-

tor structure of the friendship measure was supported in both cultures (Algeria: $\chi^2_{282} = 22.64$, $p < 0.05$, AGFI $= 0.94$, CFI $= 0.98$; GFI $= 0.98$; SRMR $= 0.08$; Slovakia: $\chi^2_{349} = 8.88$ $p < 0.05$, AGFI $= 0.98$, CFI $= 0.99$; GFI $= 0.99$, SRMR $= 0.02$). All factor loadings were significant ($p < 0.00$) and above 0.61. As for PRCA, fit indices suggest that measurement equivalence was obtained in Algeria ($\chi^2_{282} = 156.52$, $p < 0.01$ (AGFI $= 0.86$; CFI $= 0.92$; GFI $= 0.92$; SRMR $= 0.08$) and Slovakia ($\chi^2_{349} = 78.21$, $p < 0.01$ (AGFI $= 0.93$; CFI $= 0.96$; GFI $= 0.96$; SRMR $= 0.05$), and the item loadings of the subscales were significant ($p < 0.01$) and above 0.47. Finally, the four items of the SHS scale were considered to be the indicators of latent construct of subjective happiness and CFAs supported the factor structure in Algeria ($\chi^2_{282} = 1.10$ (AGFI $= 0.99$; CFI $= 1.00$; GFI $= 0.99$; SRMR $= 0.00$) and Slovakia ($\chi^2_{349} = 0.04$ (AGFI $= 1.00$; CFI $= 1.00$; GFI $= 1.00$; SRMR $= 0.00$). All factor loadings were significant ($p < 0.00$) and above 0.24.

Results

Analyses comparing the composite scores revealed only one significant finding such that Slovakian participants reported higher levels of happiness than their Algerian peers (t (629) $= 3.8$, $p < 0.001$; $d = 0.31$). As reported in Table 1, the correlations supported the hypothesis such that all of the study variables were positively associated with each other in both samples, and the strength of the associations among the variables between the two cultures was not different. Gender was not related not happiness, but positively associated with friendship in both samples, and only with capitalization in the Slovakian sample. Thus, gender was entered as a covariate in the following analyses.

   The bootstrap estimation was relied on in testing the proposed model (Mallinckrodt et al. 2006; Preacher and Hayes 2004). In doing so, 10,000 bootstrap samples were estimated (Mallinckrodt et al. 2006). The mediational model would be supported if the 95 % confidence intervals do not include zero. No indirect effect would be inferred if the confidence interval contained zero. We also report a more familiar approach, Sobel test values, for the model tested. Analyses revealed that friendship quality mediated the capitalization-happiness relationship in both cultures (Algeria: M effect $= 0.03$, SE effect $= 0.01$, 95 % CI [0.01, 0.04]; Slovakia: M effect $= 0.02$, SE effect $= 0.01$, 95 % CI [0.01, 0.03]. The Sobel test values were also consistent with the proposed model (Algeria: $z = 3.37$, $p < 0.001$; Slovakia: $z = 3.30$, $p < 0.001$). Confidence in the proposed model was established by additional analyses showing that an alternative model testing capitalization as the mediator was not supported neither in Algeria nor in Slovakia.

Table 1 Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations Amongst the Study Variables in Algeria and Slovakia

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Algeria		Slovakia	
									M	SD	M	SD
1. Gender	–	−0.03	−0.18**	−0.11	−0.08	0.13*	0.11	−0.09	–	–	–	–
2. Active-Constructive	0.21**	–	−0.05	−0.04	−0.50**	0.59**	0.52**	0.24**	5.42	1.44	5.29	1.17
3. Passive-Constructive	−0.12*	−0.05	–	0.39**	0.20**	−0.61**	−0.11	−0.08	3.59	1.43	4.33	1.27
4. Active-Destructive	−0.19**	−0.17**	0.31**	–	0.32**	−0.68**	−0.05	−0.07	3.09	1.60	2.82	1.38
5. Passive-Destructive	−0.25**	−0.31**	0.17**	0.40**	–	−0.77**	−0.25**	−0.16**	2.35	1.60	2.06	1.25
6. Composite Capitalization	0.29**	0.56**	−0.59**	−0.74**	0.72**	–	0.35**	0.20**	−3.62	4.03	−3.91	3.32
7. Friendship Quality	0.27**	0.49**	0.03	−0.12	−0.34**	0.34**	–	0.29**	6.18	1.08	6.32	0.97
8. Happiness	0.06	0.17**	−0.08	−0.04	−0.17**	0.17**	0.24**	–	4.46	1.15	4.79	0.99

Correlations for Algerians ($n=282$) are reported above the diagonal, Slovaks ($n=349$) below the diagonal
*$p<0.05$, **$p<0.01$

Discussion

Recent empirical research, consistent with the predictions of the perceived partner responsiveness to the self model (Reis et al. 2004) has convincingly demonstrated a positive relationship between perceived responses to capitalization attempts (PRCA) and happiness (Gable and Algoe 2010). Yet, the mediators of this association especially in the context of friendships were not addressed in the literature. The present study aimed to address this gap in the literature and investigated the role of friendship quality as a mediator of the association between perceived responses to capitalization attempts (PRCA) and happiness and found support for this model in two different cultures. Confidence in the findings is further established by the analyses showing that an alternative model testing PRCA as the mediator was not supported in either culture. These findings are consistent with a recent study that tested a similar model in two different cultures (U.S. and Turkey; Demir et al. 2013). Accordingly, it is reasonable to suggest that perceiving the same-sex best friends genuinely supporting one's sharing of positive experiences would promote the experience of better friendships, which in turn would contribute to happiness regardless of culture.

Finding support for this model among emerging adults in several nations also suggests that the benefits accrued by PRCA in friendships and how they relate to happiness might be generalizable to different cultures regardless of the cultural differences in psychosocial experiences. That is, even though cultural differences might exist in overall PRCA (Demir et al. 2013), friendship quality (Koh et al. 2003; Rybak and McAndrew 2006), or happiness (Diener and Suh 1999; and the current study), the process of benefiting from receiving more positive and less negative responses following the sharing of a positive event in a friendship might be similar in different cultures. Although promising, future research has the potential to establish further confidence in the model by testing its generalizability to other cultures.

As reported above, the Slovakian participants reported higher levels of happiness when compared to Algerians. This could be explained by the fact that emerging adults in Algeria were the victims of tragic events that took place in the country in the last two decades, and experienced the effects of the economic decline (Roberts 2003). Yet, these findings might not be generalized to other age groups since recent studies gathering data from all walks of life did not yield findings consistent with the current study (Minkov 2009). Overall, additional research is needed to develop a better understanding of the differences between Algerians and Slovakians on happiness.

While the current study adds to the growing literature on capitalization, there are at least four ways future research could promote our understanding the PRCA-happiness association in friendships. First, although we have focused on same-sex friendships to be consistent with past research, it is well-established that individuals establish and maintain cross-sex friendships across the life-span (Monsour 2002). Thus, future research should test the generalizability of the model to cross-sex friendships. This might be a challenge in cross-cultural research since certain cultures (norms

and religious roles) might limit the opportunities to develop and entertain cross-sex friendship. Second, considering the fact that most individuals across cultures maintain multiple friendships such as best and close friends (Demir et al. 2014; Sheets and Lugar 2005), it is essential to test the generalizability of the model to the other close friends of the individuals. Third, future research should test other theoretically identified and relevant mediators such as perceived mattering (Demir et al. 2014) or needs satisfaction (Ryan and Deci 2000) that could explain the PRCA-happiness association. Finally, theory (Cantor 1979) and empirical research (Demir 2010; Ishii-Kuntz 1990; Saphire-Bernstein and Taylor 2013) suggest that friendship experiences might be less important for happiness among individuals who are dating or married. Thus, it remains to be seen whether the model would be supported among individuals who are involved in a romantic relationship, and whether age or relationship status moderate the effects of PRCA in friendships on happiness.

Although the findings reported in this chapter contribute to the literature by supporting a model in two different cultures, it is essential to note that the samples consisted of emerging adults. This inevitable, but well-noted, limitation of cross-cultural research suggests not only that the samples might not represent the populations studied in the respective cultures but also might not be generalizable to other age groups. Even though recent empirical studies suggest that emerging adults are not very different from community adults (e.g., Cooper et al. 2011), it remains to be seen whether support for the model could be obtained in other age groups. In light of research showing that friends continue to be a robust member of one's social convoy across the life-span (Antonucci 2001), and friendship experiences are related to happiness in every age group across cultures (Chan and Lee 2006; Demir et al. 2013; Pinquart and Sorensen 2000), we predict that the model would be supported in other age groups as well. Related to this point, samples in both cultures relied on volunteers, which is the typical practice in research. Yet, the research suggesting that volunteers and non-volunteers for friendship research have different psychosocial well-being experiences (Orthel and Demir 2011; Lewis et al. 1989) limits the generalizability of the findings. Finally, the self-report data obtained in a cross-sectional study does not permit causal explanations. That is, although we found support for the proposed model and eliminated alternative explanations, the findings should be interpreted with caution. Future longitudinal research has the potential to establish confidence in the findings reported.

Conclusion

Friendship is a universal experience (Cohen 1961) and individuals across cultures consider sharing news of success or other positive events with a friend an important aspect of the bond (Argyle and Henderson 1984). Yet, theory suggests that it is essential to consider the perceived responses of the friend and how these responses might promote psychosocial well-being (Gable and Reis 2010). This study has shown that perceiving the same-sex friend providing more positive and less negative responses

following the sharing of a positive event would promote friendship quality, which in turn is related to happiness among Algerian and Slovakian emerging adults. Future research is rife with numerous opportunities that could enhance our understanding of how and why PRCA is related to happiness in different cultures.

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